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MEMORIALS

OF

MERTON COLLEGE

MEMORIALS

OF

MERTON COLLEGE

WITH

Biographical Notices

OF THE

WARDENS AND FELLOWS

BY THE

HON. GEORGE C. BRODRICK

WARDEN OF MERTON COLLEGE

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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume consists of two Parts; the first containing a historical sketch of Merton College from its foundation to the middle of the eighteenth century[1]; the second containing short biographical notices of the Wardens and Fellows elected during the reigns preceding that of Queen Anne[2].

The materials for a history of Merton College are tolerably copious, but have yet to be digested into a form accessible to ordinary students. The earliest are title-deeds of College property, and Bursars' rolls detailing current income and expenditure. Both these classes of evidences were ransacked by Anthony Wood, whose researches, though not exhaustive, were so minute as probably to deter later antiquaries from independent enquiry. The 'Liber Ruber,' compiled in the reign of Edward I, purports to contain abstracts of all the more important title-deeds then in the possession of the College. Transcripts of these, as well as of other documents affecting the College property, are to be found in MS. volumes left by Kilner, who filled the office of Bursar in the latter part of the last century, as well as in the Appendix to his printed but unpublished 'School of Pythagoras.' Next in order are the various Catalogues of Fellows, hereafter described, the earliest of which dates from the reign of Henry V, and to which are appended notes, in a later hand, of more or less biographical value. Lastly, we have the

[1] Chapters i, ii, and iii of Part I are largely based on articles contributed to the 'Nineteenth Century,' the 'Fortnightly Review,' and 'Macmillan's Magazine,' respectively, and are now published with the kind permission of the proprietors of those periodicals.

[2] Three Wardens elected after the accession of Queen Anne—Marten, Holland, and Wyntle—are included in the list.

official Registers, or domestic chronicles, of the College, which begin with the year 1482, and are continued, with varying fulness of detail, but with few interruptions, up to the present day. To these original sources may be added several modern compilations, of subsidiary authority, such as the other papers of Kilner; the very useful collection of College records made by the direction of the late Mr. James Hope Scott; the instructive notes of Bishop Hobhouse, whose sketch of the Founder's Life is still the best repertory of information on the first age of Merton history; the references to Merton in Professor Burrows' 'Visitors' Register;' and the numerous extracts from Merton archives in Professor Rogers' 'History of Prices.'

All these materials, but especially the College Registers and the remains of Anthony Wood, have been freely employed in the historical sketch which forms the first Part, and in the Appendices, but are seldom expressly cited, except where some discrepancy requires attention. It has been impossible, in all cases, to verify dates, but it may be assumed that where an event is assigned to a given year, without the addition of a month and day, the year is mostly reckoned according to the Old Style. Sometimes, however, we encounter conflicting dates which are not capable of being thus reconciled.

The Biographical Notices of Wardens and Fellows which constitute Part II of this volume are based on a MS. Catalogue drawn up in Latin by Dr. Astry, Fellow of Merton, in the early part of last century, and copiously annotated by Kilner. No attempt has been made in these Notices to provide complete biographies of persons known to history, and Astry's enumeration of the Church preferments successively held by a single Fellow has often been abridged, while fresh details have often been added from the College Register or other sources. It will be observed that many names occur to which no biographical notice whatever can be attached, and there are a few of whose identity, or connexion with Merton, doubts have been entertained by Anthony Wood and later critics.

We have now to consider the original Catalogues on which that of Astry was based. Much information regarding these is contained in an elaborate, but discursive, memorandum in Kilner's handwriting, prefixed to his annotated copy of Astry's MS. volume, and embodying the joint result of Anthony Wood's, Astry's, and his own researches. They have since been examined by Mr. F. Madan, of the Bodleian Library, at whose suggestion they are here distinguished as A, B, C, and D; these letters denoting respectively the Old Catalogue, the 'Savile Catalogue,' the 'Wilson Catalogue,' and the Catalogue drawn up by Anthony Wood, of which the first portion only has been discovered.

A.

THE 'VETUS CATALOGUS' OF WOOD, OR THE 'OLD CATALOGUE.'

According to Anthony Wood, the most ancient list of Merton Fellows dates from the reign of Henry IV, when there was no College Register or formal record of elections to Fellowships[1]. In that reign, 'Thomas Robert, then Fellow, and afterwards President of the Chappell of Kibworth, did out of a zeal and love he had to the College, cull all the Bursars' Accompts out of the Treasury.' These accounts bear the names of all Fellows how acted as 'stewards of the week,' and from these he compiled an alphabetical catalogue for each reign from Edward I to Henry IV inclusive, adding Christian names only where there were two or more of the same surname. 'This Catalogue was first drawn out on the backside of several antiquated parchment rolls, which, being reviewed and corrected, were all transcribed into a quarto book of parchment, kept in the Library to this day.'

Such was the origin of the 'Vetus Catalogus,' which is still in the possession of the College, together with the parchment-

[1] In the College accounts of 1399–1400, however, there is an entry apparently recording a deposit of the College with a London banker, '*ut patet per Registrum anni primi Regis Henr.*' The earliest extant Register dates from 1482.

rolls, or indentures, endorsed with rude lists and bearing the signature of Thomas Robert, from which it was transcribed. The leaves of this 'Vetus Catalogus' are of vellum, and once formed part of a larger book, of which the first fifty-eight pages have disappeared. The contents are as follows:—

1. Lists of Fellows of Merton in successive reigns from the foundation of the College till the reign of Henry V. The arrangement is such that all the Fellows elected within a particular reign are placed together, all whose names begin with A preceding the rest (but *not* in strict alphabetical order within the class of A's), followed by the B's, and so on. The only exception is the list for the reign of Henry V: in which the names of Fellows are arranged in chronological order of election. As Wood states, in almost all cases the surnames only are recorded, but to some names short biographical notes are appended, chiefly in a late fifteenth-century hand. These notes, though largely used by Wood and Astry, were sometimes made with little regard to chronological probability, and several cases of palpable error are cited by Kilner. This original list ends with the last entry but one on p. 17, and seems to have been written, with the exception of the notes above mentioned, in about 1420.

2. A list of the Wardens. This seems to have been the first addition to the original record. It begins with the foundation of the College, and was continued by successive contemporary hands, with short notes, down to 1826. This addition extends from p. 18 to p. 24, the last two leaves having been inserted for want of space in the original book.

3. A list of the Fellows elected since the reign of Henry V, in chronological order of election, the names being generally entered at the time up to the year 1590. This list begins on p. 25. There are short notes, and the catalogue is brought down to 1879. There is reason to think that the record from 1590 to 1730 is copied from Catalogue B, and all the names seem to have been inserted at the latter date. It is clear from the names at the foot of pp. 29–37 that in

about 1480 the intention was to devote a page to the life of each Fellow.

4. A (mutilated) copy of the Oath of Supremacy, of the time of Elizabeth, occupying the last page.

There is every reason to accept Wood's account of the origin of this catalogue, which Leland seems to have known and used in the preparation of his Collectanea. Assuming it to be genuine, Wood is fully justified in regarding it as a real, and in some sense primary, authority. But he is careful to point out that even the earlier annotators have grievously erred in their ascription of Christian names, so that the College has been led to claim as its *alumni* some who never entered its walls[1].

B.

THE SAVILE CATALOGUE.

This, like the 'Vetus Catalogus,' is written on vellum, and is always described as having been made by the direction of Sir Henry Savile, in 1586, the first year of his Wardenship. The contents are:—

1. A list of Fellows and Wardens of the College, formed in the same way as A. The *names*, indeed, may be regarded as simply copied with additions from A. For instance, the name of a Fellow of Henry VIth's time which appears in A as Westbo^{or}ne, i.e. Westbo*r*ne, is copied as Westbo*a*ne in B, (though rightly spelt in C). The short notes, however, are in the same hand as the list of names, and appear to be substantially independent of A.

2. A series of contemporary additions, beginning on page 43 and bringing this catalogue also to 1879. From 1590 to 1741 these entries may rest on independent authority, and

[1] A loose paper in his handwriting enumerates the following as those of whose connexion with Merton he doubts, 'though reported by several to have studied here.' 1. John Gatisden, Ed. I. 2. John Dumbleton, Ed. II. 3. William Occham, Ed. II. 4. Gilbert Peckham, Ed. II. 5. Robert Winchelsey, Ed. II. 6. Nicholas Garham, Ed. III. 7. Sim. Mepham, Ed. III. 8. Roger Swynshead, Ed. III. 9. Ralph Strode, Ed. III. 10. Richard Maidston, Ric. II. 11. Nich. Pontius, Hen. IV. 12. John Snetsham, Hen. V.

Mr. Madan believes the names from 1649 to 1684 to be in Wood's own hand, which has also annotated the earlier parts. From 1744 to 1806 the entries appear to be of the latter date.

It is difficult without searching the Bursars' accounts of an early date to assign to B its true value. The additions to the Old Catalogue are important, including, for instance, the name of Occam, and Wood quotes B as an authority by itself, though Astry treats it rather as a revised edition of A, 'with some few alterations and additions.' Wood had two copies of it, one made in 1656, 'in a parchment cover' and annotated by himself, and one of 1658, revised, in part at least, from 'Mr. Powell's collections,' whatever they may have been, and containing many notes by himself. If these lists be still extant, it is not known where they are.

C.

THE 'CATALOGUS NOVUS,' OR WILSON'S CATALOGUE.

This is written on paper, and differs materially from the foregoing, the order of names alone being the same. The date, however, can hardly be regarded as later than that of B, and is capable of being determined with approximate accuracy. The original of it, as distinct from the continuation, records no elections of Fellows after 1572, but it evidently contained another leaf now lost, and it registers the promotions, deaths, and burials of Fellows before elected, up to 1578 or 1579. Kilner gives reasons for holding that it was not produced earlier than 1578 or 1579, or later than 1582, in the time of Warden Bickley, who preceded Savile. If so, though it is often cited as 'the New Catalogue,' it is a few years older than the Savile Catalogue. It was in the possession of the College up to 1756, and was shown to Kilner, as a Probationer, by Dr. Trowe, the Librarian, who died in that year. After his death it passed into the hands of his relations, who lent it to Mr. Gutch[1], but retained it. Kilner made constant efforts to recover it, and expressed a hope that he might succeed. Ultimately it was restored by the mediation

[1] Gutch always cites it (erroneously) as 'Vetus Catalogus.'

of Shute Barrington, the Bishop of Salisbury, on June 25, 1789.

It begins with two accounts of Walter de Merton, one of which is taken from the College Register. The greater part is occupied with detailed biographies and bibliographies (the latter chiefly from Bale) of such Fellows as could be identified, and follows A rather than B. At the end are lists of the Wardens, with the numbers of Archbishops, &c. educated at the College. This Catalogue also is brought down by successive additions to 1879.

As Wood observes, C is more in the nature of a private catalogue, and, though a careful compilation, is of small independent authority. Wood had a copy of it, dated 1652.

D.

Anthony Wood's English Catalogue.

This Catalogue extends from the foundation to A.D. 1455, and still exists in two fragments; the one in the custody of the College, the other in the Bodleian Library, where there is also a complete transcript of the whole. It is written in English, and differs from A, B, and C in beginning from 1264 instead of from 1274. Anthony Wood himself describes it as 'with very great labour composed from multitudes of writings in that (Merton) College-Treasury, and Chequer; and also from their Register.' He adds that the names are 'not set down according to senioritie, but as they occasionally occurre in writings according to time and date.' Thus, the name of a later Fellow may be entered before that of an earlier, if it should happen to be first mentioned in an earlier account.

Anthony Wood's English Catalogue includes many names which appear in none of the others, but which he found in weekly accounts or other College records. The bearers of such names may, in some cases, have been connected with the College, as Chaplains or otherwise, without having been actually Fellows. They are, however, inserted in the following

Biographical Notices, with a *verbatim* copy of Anthony Wood's own notes, but are distinguished by an asterisk.

E.

ASTRY'S CATALOGUE.

This Catalogue extends from the foundation to A.D. 1700. The following are its contents:—

1. Introductory pieces, fol. (1).
2. Title, fol. (4).
3. Account of the Founder and successive Wardens, fol. (5).
4. List of abbreviations used, fol. (13^{v}).
5. *List of Fellows*, with short accounts of them, pp. 1–147.
6. Index of Fellows and Wardens (at end).

This is a sound and valuable piece of work. Astry made use, not only of the Old Catalogue and College Register—which, with the Bursars' accounts, must always be the primary fountain of evidence—but also of the Patent Rolls and other Public Records, the Lincoln Registers, Anthony Wood's works, Leland, and other sources, quoting his authorities for nearly every statement.

F.

KILNER'S 'EDITION' OF ASTRY'S CATALOGUE.

The following are its contents:—

1. A criticism of the comparative value and mutual relation of Catalogues A, B, and C, fol. (1).
2. Introductory pieces, fol. (7).
3. Index to the volume, fol. (13^{v}).
4. A *Transcript of Astry's Catalogue* and account of the Wardens and Fellows of Merton, foll. 1–251 (containing, *a*. Title, &c., fol. 1: *b*. Account of the Founder and successive Wardens, fol. 4: *c*. List of abbreviations used, fol. 31^{v}: *d*. The Catalogue of Fellows, fol. 32).

Kilner first transcribed the whole of Astry's Catalogue:

then he added from time to time on the blank page opposite to the transcript, or even interlineally, his own notes and corrections, which are unfortunately not thrown into any literary form, and are often difficult to decipher. The Founder's life he left untouched. He cites his authorities, and the information embodied in his additions to Astry seems to be valuable, though badly arranged and often slipshod in style. The list is not brought down to a later date than 1700. At the end (fol. 256) are some notes from Wood and Gutch.

In one of his marginal notes Kilner gives an important list of early Fellows, with the following heading:—'*Nomina quorundam Sociorum Collegii Mertonensis, in primâ fundatione Collegii, ut extant in quodam computo Will. de Chelsham, A.* 1288.' J. de Clive, David Deverel, Will. de Bosco, Will. de Lee, Rob. de Scarle, Ric. de Kokeswell, Hen. de London, Jo. de More, Rob. de Leyham, Will. Hothun, Hen. de Mamesfeld, Barth. de Covele, Steph. de Herdele, Thom. de Wylton, Jo. de Wendover, Ric. de Stoke, Will. de Baldoc, Hen. de Fodryngheye. This list is hereafter cited as 'the old *Computus*.'

Eight of these names, besides William de Chelsham's, occur in the following list of Fellows to whom commons were allotted in 1285, as we learn from a Bursar's Roll of J. de Clive bearing that date, and acknowledging the receipt of 68*l.*: Rad. de Oddyham, W. de Chelsam, Rob. de Riplingham, Peter de Insulâ, J. de Tinteshale, William de Bosco, Rob. de Albruwyc, William de Lee, J. de Wendover, R. de Cokeswell, Jo. de Morâ, Rob. Scarle, Hen. de Fodrige, J. de Clive, R. de Haregrave, Galf. de Codington.

Bishop Hobhouse, who has transcribed this list, adds the following from the Roll of 'John Capellanus,' bearing date 1284: Watlington, E. de Clyve, Harmund (? Hamond), Pickeringe, J. de Abendon, Fozcombe (? Foxcombe), Boys (? the same as de Bosco), London, Leham, Baldok, R. de Clive, Loys. All of these, except E. de Clyve, R. de Clive, Foz-

combe, and Loys, appear in the following Biographical Notices of Fellows.

In the first Appendix will be found abstracts of various ancient title-deeds concerning the site of Merton College and Gardens, including the gradual acquisition of St. Alban Hall with its appurtenances, and the sale of land for the foundation of Corpus Christi College. This subject is further illustrated by a rough plan of Merton College and its environs at the end of the fifteenth century, based on the maps of Agas and Fulman, together with the topographical descriptions of Peshall. The second Appendix contains a new translation of the Statutes issued by the Founder in 1274, by which the College was still governed until the year 1856. The third Appendix embodies a curious extract from Professor Rogers' 'History of Prices,' recording the proceedings at a College 'Scrutiny,' or Chapter-meeting, held in 1338-9. In the fourth Appendix are preserved two inventories of College plate, taken at the accession of Wardens Savile and Brent, respectively. The fifth Appendix consists of a table extracted from Professor Burrows' 'Visitors' Register,' and giving a summary of the proceedings taken by the Parliamentary Visitors under the Commonwealth in regard to members of Merton College.

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HISTORY OF MERTON COLLEGE.

CHAPTER I.

MERTON COLLEGE BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

ERRATA IN

"MEMORIALS OF MERTON COLLEGE."

Page 56, line 1. *for* 1562 *read* 1566
„ 84, line 18, *for* Sept. 1 *read* Aug. 28
„ 87, line 24, *for* Christ Church *read* Corpus Christi
„ 166, line 30, *after* University *insert* of Cambridge

intermittent civil war. The Provisions of Oxford, whereby the Crown was virtually put into commission, were signed in 1258; the battles of Lewes and Evesham were fought in 1265. In that year, too, was summoned the first regular Parliament, composed of representatives from counties and boroughs, which ever assembled in this country, and the House of Commons sprung into existence a twelvemonth after the foundation

HISTORY OF MERTON COLLEGE.

CHAPTER I.

MERTON COLLEGE BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

THE year 1264, from which Merton College dates its pedigree, may be taken as a central landmark in that great era of transition known as the Middle Ages. The spirit of feudalism and chivalry still tyrannised over commercial enterprise and intellectual aspirations. France was still ruled by St. Louis, who had not yet undertaken the last of the Crusades. The Christian monarchies of Spain were still engaged in a chronic struggle with the Mahomedan kingdom of Granada. Germany was still in the state of anarchy which preceded the election of Rudolph of Hapsburgh. The Italian republics were rapidly falling under the yoke of local tyrants, and the French occupation of Sicily which ended in the Sicilian Vespers was not commenced until the year 1265. The south of Russia, Poland, and Hungary had just been devastated by the Mongol invasion. England itself was in the midst of an intermittent civil war. The Provisions of Oxford, whereby the Crown was virtually put into commission, were signed in 1258; the battles of Lewes and Evesham were fought in 1265. In that year, too, was summoned the first regular Parliament, composed of representatives from counties and boroughs, which ever assembled in this country, and the House of Commons sprung into existence a twelvemonth after the foundation

of Merton College. Nor was this epoch less critical in the history of our Universities. Twenty years before, the University of Oxford had received its first charter from Henry the Third. The Mendicant Orders, founded in the early part of the thirteenth century, had lost no time in establishing themselves both there and at Cambridge. The Dominicans, or Black Friars, had been located, so far back as 1221 or 1222, in the heart of the Jewry, as it was then called, near the present Corn Exchange, but had moved, in 1259, to a new site at the end of the present Speedwell Street, where the Church of their great convent was consecrated in 1262. The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, had followed them two or three years later, and were settled just outside the Castle walls. on a site now occupied by Paradise Square. The Carmelites had but lately taken possession of grounds now covered by part of Worcester College and Gardens. The Augustin Friars had already obtained a small house near the Schools, which they afterwards abandoned for the handsome convent erected between Wadham College and Holywell Street. The monks of these Orders, soon to be followed by the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the 'Crutched Friars,' the Trinitarians, and the 'Canons Regular,' must be regarded as the pioneers of learning in mediæval Oxford[1].

They found the Schools of the University already rising to eminence, but chiefly engrossed by the frivolous subtleties of dialectics and scholastic divinity; though Roman law, introduced a century earlier, was rapidly becoming a popular study. These 'Schools,' famous as they were, then consisted only of a number of humble tenements[2], ranged along a street known as *Vicus Scholasticus*, which ran from the west end of St. Mary's Church, past what is now Brasenose College, and across the square of the new Schools, now super-

[1] For a short notice of the monastic institutions of Oxford in the Middle Ages, see Bishop Hobhouse's 'Sketch of the Life of Walter de Merton,' pp. 19–21, and Goldie's little monograph on 'Bygone Oxford.'

[2] There are said to have been thirty-two in 1400.

seded in their turn. In the reign of Henry III there were no University libraries; and though Latin was freely used, with little regard to grammatical accuracy, Greek was an almost unknown tongue. Such literary culture as there was gladly sheltered itself in the monasteries, and almost wasted itself in the laborious transcription of manuscripts. The Franciscan monks were supported by Grostete, the great reforming Bishop of Lincoln, whose diocesan jurisdiction extended over Oxford, and was exercised by the nomination of the Chancellor. These missionary teachers strove to revive the study of Greek, encouraging their disciples to read the works of Aristotle, as well as the New Testament and the fathers, in the original language. Very few, however, succeeded in doing so; and Roger Bacon, himself a Franciscan, and by far the foremost leader of Oxford thought in the thirteenth century, attests the incredibly low standard of scholarship, as well as the utter neglect of mathematics and science, in the University of which he was the greatest ornament. One generation had sufficed to impair the zeal and success of the Franciscans themselves, and in 1264 Grostete was no longer alive to promote study and good order in the University by the exercise of his paramount influence. The great mass of students were still lodged in little Halls (of which three hundred are said to have existed in the reign of Edward I[1]), or in the houses of towns-people. As for academical discipline, the numerous instances of outrageous violence and disturbance cited by Anthony Wood disclose a state of society in which learning could not but languish. Indeed, a desperate conflict between the students and the citizens was one main cause of the royal command under which a considerable body of the former migrated in 1263 to Northampton, whence they returned in 1264 under the safe-conduct of Simon de Montfort.

It was in such an age, so unlike our own that we can barely picture it to our minds, and in such a place—not diversified

[1] Sir J. Peshall, in his instructive but ill-arranged 'History of the City of Oxford,' professes to identify the exact site of some three hundred extinct Halls.

by picturesque cloisters and quadrangles, or embowered in peaceful gardens, but encircled with a loopholed wall, crowded with dingy hostelries, intersected by a labyrinth of squalid lanes, and swarming with a mixed multitude of priests and vagrants—that Walter de Merton essayed the great experiment which resulted in the conversion of Oxford and Cambridge into collegiate Universities. This remarkable man is believed to have been born either at Merton, in Surrey, or at Basingstoke, where it is certain that his parents lived and died; and there is some reason to believe that he studied at Oxford under the instruction of Adam de Marisco, an eminent Franciscan teacher, who recommended him to Grostete. In the year 1249, if not ten years earlier[1], he is known to have been in Holy Orders, holding preferment in the Church, and being in favour with the King. It also appears certain that he practised in the law courts, after the manner of Churchmen in those days, and it is probable that he thus earned the means of purchasing the large estates which he afterwards settled on the college. In 1254 or 1255 he was acting as deputy to the Chancellor, and in 1258 he was actually entrusted with the great seal, and left by the King to arrange with the Pope's Legate for the grant of the kingdom of Sicily to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. In 1260 he became Chancellor, and, though displaced for a short time by the barons, was restored by the King in 1261, with a salary of 400 marks a year, and held office until June, if not until September, 1263, practically administering the kingdom in the royal name during the King's long absence in France.

In the previous year he had obtained from Richard, Earl of Gloucester, as his feudal superior, a charter empowering him to assign his manors at Farley and Malden, in Surrey, to the priory of Merton for the support of scholars 'residing at the Schools.' The precise meaning of this expression, which

[1] He is mentioned as 'clericus' in a Close Roll of 1238, recording an inquisition into the payments due from his lands at Basingstoke. Hobhouse's 'Walter de Merton,' pp. 2, 4.

recurs in subsequent deeds of foundation, has been much disputed, but there is strong evidence to show that it contemplated exhibitioners to be maintained at the University of Oxford. At all events, such was the manifest object of the foundation charter finally issued in 1264, and attested by the King's seal, which first incorporated the 'Scholars of Merton' into an independent society. It is needless to follow the progressive growth of this idea in the mind of Walter de Merton, as indicated by earlier documents[1]. But it is important to realise that what he founded in 1264 was not Merton College at Oxford, but an endowed 'House of the Scholars of Merton' at Malden, in Surrey, under a warden and bailiffs, with two or three *ministri altaris*, managing estates which supported a body of twenty students in a hall or lodging at Oxford, though with power to settle them elsewhere,—'*aut alibi, ubi studium viget generale.*' As Bishop Hobhouse remarks, in his sketch of the Founder's life, 'the Statutes of 1264 exhibit to us an institution divided in locality; the head with the economical and ecclesiastical part of the body living in one place in the country; the academical in another, where its academical functions could be effectively pursued.' During the next ten years the original design was considerably extended and modified by Walter de Merton. He acquired the present site of the college by the purchase of two houses, one from the Prior of St. Frideswide, and another from Jacob, a London Jew, and by enclosing a large vacant space near the city wall under a royal charter. He also obtained the advowsons of two Oxford churches, St. John's and St. Peter's, with a large rectorial property, and the right of bringing water from the

[1] One of hese is a document existing among the Malden title-deeds, which contains an assignment of that manor, with Chessington and Farley, to John de la Clythe, and seven other nepotes, or nephews, recited by name, and called *scholares in scholis degentes.* 'It presents to us,' says Bishop Hobhouse, 'a family arrangement, placing eight of his nephews, under a warden and chaplains, in his manor-house, with a life-long provision; entitling them *scholares in scholis degentes*, and tying them to a life of study and of rule, for they were to forfeit their places should they disregard the *ordinatio*' (now lost) 'or commit any serious offence.'

Cherwell by a canal along the City wall[1]. In 1270 he re-issued his Statutes without material alteration, apparently for the purpose of ratifying in time of peace dispositions which had been made in time of civil war. In January, 1273, he again became Chancellor, while the young King Edward the First was absent on a Crusade, and seems to have exercised an almost viceregal power with marked success until the King's return. In August, 1274, he resigned the Chancellorship, and immediately afterwards, being then Bishop-elect of Rochester, he put forth his final Statutes, transferring the warden, bailiffs and ministers of the altar from Malden to Oxford, and designating Oxford as the exclusive and permanent home of the Scholars[2]. In 1277 he died from the effects of a fall in riding across a river[3].

The Merton College Statutes of 1274 may justly be described as the foundation of the college system, and it may be well to review, however briefly, their leading provisions. The number of the scholars[4] was to be regulated by the revenues of the college, and each was to receive fifty shillings a year, and no more —apparently as the price of his commons. Scholars disabled by illness were to be supported in the House for a maximum period of two years, after which, if their disease should prove incurable, they were to become inmates of the Hospital at Basingstoke[5]. The Superior, to be called the Warden, was to be a man of discretion in spiritual and temporal affairs, who should exercise a general superintendence over all the officers and members of the House. For every ten or twenty scholars

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] This foundation was confirmed, in separate deeds, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln (as diocesan) in 1276; by Archbishop Peckham and a provincial Synod of Bishops convoked by him at Reading in 1279; and by Pope Nicholas III in a Bull issued in 1280.

[3] He left goods valued in the inventories at £5,110. His legacies amounted to £2,726, the debts owing to him to £622, and those due from him to £746.

[4] No distinction is drawn in the Merton Statutes between Scholarships and Fellowships. All were *Scholares;* the 'scholar,' in the modern sense, was simply a junior Fellow, and the 'Fellow' a senior scholar.

[5] The history of this little hospital, also founded by Walter de Merton, is given in Hobhouse's 'Walter de Merton,' pp. 3, 4.

one president (or Dean[1]) was to be appointed, and in every chamber one older scholar was to exercise a kind of monitorial authority over the rest. All the scholars were to have a common table and, as far as possible, an uniform dress. All members of the college were regularly to attend masses, to be performed by three or four Ministers of the Altar specially appointed and constantly resident. During meals the scholars were to listen in silence to a reader; in their chambers they were to abstain from noise, and speak in Latin only. No one was to burden the common resources by introducing strangers, even if they should be near relatives. In the election of scholars, the Founder's line were to have a preference, and after them, candidates from the diocese of Winchester and other dioceses in which the college estates were situated. No scholar was to be admitted but those who should be chaste, well-conducted, peaceable, humble, poor, of capacity for study, and desirous of improvement; and a year of probation was to be allowed for the purpose of testing these qualifications. In case any scholar should become a monk, or enter the service of any person, or obtain too liberal a benefice, or retire from the House for the purpose of giving up study, or neglect to study in the House, he was to lose his scholarship. Expulsion was also to be the penalty of any grave crime or outrage, proved before the Warden and six or seven Seniors; minor offences, and the suspicion of grave crimes, were to be dealt with by admonition, and, after three such admonitions, expulsion was to follow. All internal disputes were to be settled by the Warden and Seniors. All appeals against sentences of expulsion were absolutely excluded by a provision that every scholar should hold his scholarship only so long as the Warden and Scholars should approve of his conduct and diligence. Elections of scholars were to be made by the unanimous choice of the Warden and thirteen Seniors; or, failing such choice, of the Warden and six Seniors; and expelled

[1] The *decanus* seems to have been, in the original conception, a president or prefect of ten, the *vicenarius* (seldom mentioned) of twenty.

Scholars, if repentant, were to be capable of re-election. One of the Seniors was to be appointed Vice-Warden, and to exercise all the authority of the Warden in his absence.

A chapter or 'scrutiny' was to be held thrice a year, a week before Christmas, a week before Easter, and in July, when enquiry was to be made into the life, conduct, morals, and progress in learning, of the whole society, and all abuses were to be corrected. At one of these terminal chapters new scholars were to be admitted, upon their taking an oath to obey all the statutes, and to forego all external remedies in case of expulsion. There were also to be stewards for the management of the lands and manors, with the title of brethren and the right of maintenance in the House, but subject to all the obligations of scholars. Three competent scholars were to act as Bursars[1], and their accounts, as well as those of the Warden himself, were to be audited yearly by the Vice-Warden and five other discreet members of the House. Once a year, all the stewards and bailiffs of manors, with the Warden, Vice-Warden, and eight or ten Seniors, were to assemble at one of the manors, when the Vice-Warden and Seniors were to institute a diligent enquiry into the conduct not only of the stewards and bailiffs, but also of the Warden himself. Before this enquiry, the stewards and bailiffs were to resign their offices, and afterwards to receive fresh commissions, if the report should be satisfactory. When the revenues of the House should be found sufficient to maintain a larger number of scholars at the same rate of allowance, the number was to be increased, and persistent opposition to such increase on the part of a scholar or of the Warden himself, if dictated by self-interest, was to be punished by deprivation; the power of deprivation, however, being reserved for the Visitor, in the case of the Warden, and only to be exercised after three admonitions from the Vice-Warden. But these provisions were not to apply to opposition justified by heavy charges on the college funds, as for expensive law-suits, 'a subsidy to the Holy Land, the

[1] This term does not occur in the Statutes.

ransom of a prince or prelate,' or other legitimate contributions. Every year, after harvest, the Warden was to make a progress, visiting all the college estates, and giving in a valuation of farm-stock. The Warden was to have a table, at which the Vice-Warden, three Chaplains[1], and five servants, were to mess with him, receiving for this purpose fifty marks a year; and was also to have two post-horses kept for him, with suitable clothing for himself, and wages for his servants. The stewards, bailiffs, and messengers, when they should visit the House, were to be entertained at the Warden's table, and a tenth of any improvement effected in the rental of the estates was to be credited to the Warden's table.

The election of a Warden was to be conducted by seven of the Seniors, who should pick out three persons of judgment and experience in spiritual and temporal affairs 'either belonging to the House or elsewhere,' and present three names to the Visitor, from which he should make choice of one. The Vice-Warden, the Chaplains, and the Bursars were to be nominated by the Warden, and five Seniors appointed for the purpose. These officers were to reprove the Warden himself, in case of necessity, and to report all serious defaults, on the part of College officials, to the Visitor. Any two or three of the scholars were empowered to impeach the Warden before the Visitor for high crimes or misdemeanours, and the Visitor was to exercise summary jurisdiction in such a case, including the power of removal. The removal of a Warden, like that of a Scholar, was to be accepted as a final decision, without appeal. The Warden and other officers, if permanently incapacitated, were to be

[1] These *capellani*, as they are here called, are the same with those before mentioned as *ministri altaris*. In 1564, Warden Man was called to account at a 'scrutiny' for having only one Chaplain at his table, and sheltered himself under the dispensation of Archbishop Parker's Visitors. A few months later, the Fellows at another scrutiny decided that the letter of the Statute need not be strictly observed, partly because there were no longer masses and ceremonial ordinances to be kept up. The Chaplains seem to have been largely employed in college business, perhaps because they were often men of greater age or experience than most of the Fellows.

maintained in the House, on condition of doing their utmost to serve its interests. During expeditions on college business, the Warden was to be allowed a Steward as a companion, on a third horse, as well as a servant, but the horses of scholars travelling from or to the University were not to be foraged at the expense of the House. Inasmuch as no law can anticipate all future contingencies, any wholesome statutes made, on good advice, by the Warden and eight or ten Seniors, for the well-being of the House, were to have full and binding effect. 'If the local habitation or society of scholars to be engaged in study should, from any causes which may well arise but cannot easily be enumerated, be transferred to some other spot,' neither the title of the corporate body to the estates nor the validity of the statutes was to be affected thereby, so long as the members of the House should maintain its name and should not join another 'college.' All the scholars were solemnly enjoined to cherish peace and charity among themselves. If any of them should attain ampler fortune or preferment, he was to use his influence in advancing the good of the House, as well as of the Hospital at Basingstoke. Boys of the Founder's line, to the number of thirteen, were to be educated in the House for the University Schools, and, if worthy, to receive scholarships in due course. All domestic services, both in the House and at the manor of Malden, were, so far as possible, to be performed by males, and members of the Founder's own household were to have a preference in the selection of servants[1].

These Statutes, issued in August, 1274, were authenticated by the seal of King Edward I, as well as by that of the Founder himself. The policy of which they are the expressions is not difficult to understand. Fully appreciating the great intellectual movement of his age, and unwilling to see the paramount control of it in the hands of the religious orders,—the zealous apostles of Papal supremacy,—Walter de Merton resolved to establish within the precincts of the

[1] A full translation of these Statutes of 1274 is to be found in Appendix B.

University a great seminary of secular clergy, which should educate a succession of men capable of doing good service in Church and State. The conception which underlies and pervades his Statutes is well interpreted by Bishop Hobhouse:—'He borrowed from the monastic institutions the idea of an aggregate body living by common rule, under a common head, provided with all things needful for a corporate and perpetual life, fed by its secured endowments, and fenced from all external interference except that of its lawful patron.' But he was not content with a copy or even a mere adaptation of the monastic idea; on the contrary, it may be surmised that he was influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the spirit of those non-monastic institutions, now almost forgotten, in which the parochial clergy of an earlier age had sometimes lived together under a common rule. The employment of his scholars was to be study—not the *claustralis religio* of the older religious orders, nor the more practical and popular self-devotion of the Dominicans and Franciscans. As we have seen, he forbade them ever to take vows, he enjoined them to maintain their corporate independence against all foreign encroachments, he ordained that all should apply themselves to studying the liberal arts and philosophy before entering upon a course of theology, and he provided special Chaplains to relieve them of ritual and ceremonial duties. He contemplated and even encouraged their going forth into the great world, only reminding those who might win an ample fortune (*uberior fortuna*) to show their gratitude by advancing the interests of the college. No ascetic obligations were laid upon them, but residence and continuous study were strictly prescribed; and if any scholars retired from the college with the intention of giving up learning, or even ceased to study diligently, their salaries were no longer to be paid. If the scale of these salaries and statutable allowances was moderate, it was chiefly because the Founder intended the number of his scholars to be constantly increased as the revenues of the House might be enlarged. He even recognised

the duty of meeting the growing needs of future ages, and empowered his scholars not only to make new Statutes, but even to migrate elsewhere from Oxford in case of necessity[1].

The effort of mind required to make such innovations, worked out as they are with remarkable foresight in details, can hardly be estimated in the present day. It was an essentially original design, and there can be no doubt that it constituted an entirely new departure in the academical history of the Middle Ages. Not only was it the archetype upon which all the collegiate foundations at Oxford were moulded, but the *regula Mertonensis* was expressly adopted as a model for the oldest college at Cambridge. Hugh Balsham obtained a licence from Edward the First to found Peterhouse on the same basis as Merton, and the Statutes of Peterhouse, drawn up by Simon Montacute, his successor in the see of Ely, purport to be little more than a revised edition of the Merton code[2]. Henceforth colleges gradually superseded halls and monasteries as the homes of university students and the strongholds of university discipline. The first Statutes of University College date from 1280, those of Balliol from 1282; Exeter was founded in 1314; Oriel in 1326; Queen's in 1340. But the most remarkable development of collegiate life after the foundation of Merton was the foundation of New College in 1386, and this noble bequest of William of Wykeham to posterity is appropriately named as marking the second era in the growth of the college system.

A special interest attaches to the architectural history of

[1] The Statutes which provided for the education of orphan or indigent boys of the Founder's kin within the college were carried out during the first two centuries of Merton history. The 'pueri,' as they are often called in college records, were lodged first in Holywell, afterwards in Nun's Hall, and instructed by a grammar-master, to whom, for example, 25*s.* was paid, apparently as a half-year's salary, in 1331–2. In the Holywell Rolls of Edward I's reign we find items for 8 trusses of straw bought 'ad opus custodis et puerorum,' and afterwards for a payment of 6*d.* 'datum pueris de Nunhall ad stramen.' Many of the earlier Fellows are identified as having been of the Founder's kin.

[2] 'Quodque status domûs, ac magister et Scholares, hujusmodi ordinarentur quatenus esset commodè, secundum quod magister et Scholares Aulæ Scholarium de Merton in Oxon discretius ordinatur.'

Merton College, since its structure, like its constitution, represents the first beginnings of collegiate, as distinct from conventual, life. It cannot be asserted with confidence that Walter de Merton's eye rested on any part of the present college buildings; and it is more than probable that his earliest scholars were lodged in the ancient tenements fronting Merton Street, purchased by himself. The old college hall, however, of which the main walls have been preserved in subsequent restorations, is believed to have been erected in the Founder's lifetime[1]. There are entries in the Bursars' rolls showing that 'a new kitchen' was built at the expense of the college within a very few years of his death; and others, of the year 1304, containing items for repairing the steps of the hall opposite the kitchen. The beautiful choir of the chapel was certainly erected before the end of the thirteenth century, and was long supposed to have been finished by the year 1277. In proof of this, great stress was laid on an entry of that date in the Bursars' rolls, recording the payment of 14*s.* 9*d.* for the dedication of a high altar, and 8*d.* for the benediction of a super-altar. But Mr. James Parker has vigorously disputed the inference drawn from this entry, maintaining, on architectural grounds, that such geometrical tracery and mouldings as adorn the windows of the Merton choir, a splendid example of the 'Decorated' style, have never been found elsewhere in an English church of so early a date as 1277. His theory is that 1277 marks the commencement, and not the completion, of the choir; and that the altar then dedicated, or re-dedicated, was not the high altar of the choir, but the altar of St. John's Church, the removal of which had become necessary by the absorption of the church into the college chapel. At all events, the chapel, if not erected before

About 1330 the 'louvre' over the Hall seems to have been repaired. Bishop Hobhouse observes that much stone was still brought from Teynton, and it is greatly to be regretted that any other stone was used in the college buildings. In the college accounts of 1367–8 there are several entries showing how largely Teynton stone was then used for repairs, as well as (apparently) for building a wall 'inter "le Logge" et ostium ecclesiæ.'

the Founder's death, was erected immediately afterwards, perhaps under the direction of his executors, out of his residuary bequest to the college. It is positively stated by Anthony Wood that Henry de Mannesfeld, a Fellow of the college, furnished the side windows of the choir with glass in the year 1283, and in several of them there are kneeling figures of Henry de Mannesfeld, with a label bearing the inscription 'Mag. Henricus de Mannesfeld me fecit,' or words to a like effect[1]. But it does not follow that the stone-work even of these windows was complete in that year, or that the east window is of exactly the same date, for the Bursars' rolls of 1292 contain orders for stone to be used for windows of the chapel, as if they were still in process of execution. The original design included transepts with a central tower, as well as a nave and aisles; and we read of bells in the Bursars' rolls of the year 1288. The date of the noble arches supporting the tower still remains to be ascertained, but in the Bursars' rolls for 1330–1 there is an account of a large outlay upon a belfry tower, under the head of *Custos novi operis circa campanile*[2]. The transepts, or ante-chapel, were not dedicated until 1424, by which time the college had abandoned the idea of building the nave, and had blocked up the three western arches of the ante-chapel[3]. A new peal of five bells was

[1] Mr. John Henry Parker observed a remarkable correspondence between these windows and those of Exeter Cathedral, which are proved by the fabric-rolls to have been constructed between 1279 and 1291. In a college account of 1361 there is an entry of expenditure for mending the glass windows of the chancel. Another entry in the same account records payments 'for making corbel-tables outside the entrance-door.'

[2] In 1331–2, again, there are two entries, one of 60*s.* 'pro opere ecclesiæ,' another of 5*l.* 6*s.* for quarrying and carrying stone for the church. In 1350–1 work was still going on 'super campanile.' Bishop Hobhouse remarks that the Chaplains were often entrusted with considerable sums for these and other purposes beyond their own province.

[3] Bishop Hobhouse has extracted an interesting entry from the endorsement of a college account, which he assigns to the year 1422. This minute sets forth that it is expedient to commence the erection of the tower while there are many still living who have promised large contributions towards the work, that by frequent deaths of Fellows many things are lost which might easily be acquired for the building if it were once begun, and that it would be well to raise £20 annually for the purpose

provided soon afterwards, partly at the expense of Henry Abendon, then Warden; and Professor Rogers has carefully analysed the accounts for the erection or re-erection of the bell-tower. The work lasted two years, from May 1448, to May 1450, under the superintendence of Thomas Edwardes, probably one of the Fellows; and the funds, amounting to nearly 142*l.*, were supplied partly from the college revenues and partly from private donations or legacies[1].

In the meantime, other college buildings had arisen south of the chapel and west of the hall. An entry in the Bursars' rolls proves the vestry or sacristy to have been commenced in 1310, and there are architectural reasons for concluding that it was not commenced until the choir was completed. The adjoining muniment-room, or treasury, with its high-pitched roof of solid masonry, is certainly not of a later date, and is sometimes referred to an earlier period. The original north and east sides of the primitive quadrangle, called Mob-quadrangle, were probably erected at the same time; and the Bursars' rolls of 1306, noting payments for 'the new chambers,' may perhaps mark the actual time of their completion. The southern and western sides of this quadrangle—the cradle of the college system—may have been erected in the next generation. The library which forms the upper part of these wings has always been regarded as the work of William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, who died in 1376, leaving to the college a chest with 100*l.* for its repair, as well as another chest with 100*l.* for the aid of Fellows, by way of loan. Others have surmised that Bishop Rede only rebuilt an existing edifice, enriching it with a store of manuscripts, then considered the greatest treasure of monastic bodies. It is difficult to resist

from 'the Surrey woods,' which might thus constantly maintain the 'work of the Church.'

[1] Full particulars of the moneys received for, or charge incurred in, building the Bell Tower of Merton Chapel from May 20, 1448, to May 9, 1450, are preserved in Rogers's Hist. of Prices, vol. i. pp. 258–60; vol. iii. pp. 720–37. Both Teynton and Headington stone was employed. Among the legacies for this purpose we find one of 13*s.* 4*d.* from Henry Caldey, Vicar of Cuckfield, who apparently had no connexion with the college.

the conclusion, founded on architectural analogies, that the remarkable chamber which now contains the library was originally intended for a dormitory, and afterwards converted to its present use, the muniment-room being large enough to hold all the books which the college is likely to have possessed a century and a half before the invention of printing. Some light is thrown on this question by certain entries in a college account of Jan. 1354–5, extracted by Bishop Hobhouse. It there appears that 2*s*. were paid to a carpenter employed 'ad facienda palatia Librariæ et alia necessaria, et in IV mensis pro "deskes" in Librariâ.' Now, 'palatia,' as explained by Du Cange, may probably have meant latticed studies, and the work here indicated may have been the beginning of that partition into lateral chambers with desks, of which Merton College Library is said to offer the earliest example. In 1376–7, we find entries of stone brought from Teynton, which may probably have been for the completion of the Library, since the same accounts contain other references to the work as still going on. At all events, the whole of the Mob-quadrangle may safely be taken as having retained its present aspect for the last five hundred years. The embattled tower over the gateway, lately restored, was built under special licence from the Crown by Warden Rudbourne, in 1416. The oldest portion of the Warden's lodgings is said to have been erected about 1460 by Warden Sever, who had been the first Provost of Eton College in 1441. Another portion was added by Warden Fitzjames at the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign. The larger quadrangle was built in 1610.

If we now seek to realise the studies, the habits, and the every-day life of the Merton scholars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we are met with great difficulties. The oldest extant register of the college begins with the resignation of Warden Gygur, and the election of Warden Fitzjames, in 1482, though it is tolerably certain that an earlier register once existed, since an entry in the accounts records the purchase of paper for the purpose of making it, in the year

1310. No contemporary letters supply materials for a domestic history of Merton, and the premature death of Anthony Wood frustrated the execution of a task which to him would have been a labour of love. We know something, however, of the state of society which prevailed at Oxford during the later Middle Ages; and something may be gleaned from casual notices in the Bursars' rolls, and other college records, to illustrate what was then passing within the walls of Merton College.

The pictures of University life which have come down to us from that age exhibit strange contrasts. There must have been a restless intellectual activity among a minority of the students and graduates, when the fiercest controversies were raging between the disciples of rival schoolmen, when speculation was kept alive by incessant disputations, and when John Wyclif[1] was supported by a strong body of academical opinion against the crushing authority of Rome. Assuredly Oxford then contained a vastly greater proportion of English learning and culture than it does in the present day. However young the students may have been on their admission, their course of study in Arts lasted much longer, a residence of seven years being required to obtain a M.A. degree, with the right of teaching[2], and a residence of several years more to obtain a doctor's degree in Divinity, Law, or Medicine. The consequence was that much of that literary and controversial energy, which now finds ample scope in the Press or the learned professions, was then concentrated at the University, and absolutely engrossed the master-minds of that adventurous age. Side by side with the circles in which these intellectual pursuits were fostered with religious enthusiasm, there were multitudes of so-called students, mostly lodged in public or private hostels, whose disorderly conduct often endangered the peace of the

[1] In spelling Wyclif's name, I have followed the authority of the Wyclif Society.

[2] See Introduction to Anstey's 'Munimenta Academica.'

city. Many of these, as well as of their worthier compeers, had actually begged their way to Oxford and crowded together in dens, which naturally bred fever and pestilence. Outbreaks of plague were of frequent occurrence, and the scholars of Merton often took refuge from it at Cuxham, Islip, and other villages in the country. 'Town and gown rows' then assumed the proportions of formidable riots, in which many lives were lost, sometimes leading to a large secession of students from Oxford, and calling for vigorous measures of repression from the King himself[1]. Even among gownsmen, the standing feuds between the Northern and Southern 'nations' constantly led to serious bloodshed, and it was in order to moderate these feuds that northern and southern Proctors were annually elected—one to represent each nation. It is recorded by Anthony Wood that, in 1334, Merton College refused to admit northern scholars, and that, in 1349, several of its members took a very active part in a riot on behalf of Wylliott, a southerner, driving out the northern Proctor, and forcibly procuring the election of Wylliott to the Chancellorship[2].

This disorderly outburst, however, was exceptional. In general, the stringency of collegiate regulations, the comparative severity of collegiate discipline, and the preference given to candidates already grounded in letters, contributed to make the colleges examples of industry and good order to the extra-collegiate mass of University students[3]. Merton was especially distinguished in this respect, and as most of its inmates were probably entirely dependent on the foundation

[1] There is an amusing entry in the college accounts of 1354–5, 'in sagittas emptas et emendas pro defensione corporis Custodis.' It does not appear against whom the Warden needed this protection. In the accounts for 1399–1400, however, there is a similar item, 'pro armigero Custodis.' Even so late as 1590 we find that a supply of arms—muskets, halberds, and bills—was ordered to be purchased for the college.

[2] Another serious tumult between North and South broke out in 1395; and even so late as 1506 we read of Merton scholars taking part in a similar faction-fight.

[3] The disorders among the 'chamber-dekkyns,' or 'Unattached Students' of those days, were the constant subject of academical legislation in the fifteenth century.

for their means of subsistence, the security for their orderly behaviour was as strong as possible. It is stated that after the sanguinary tumult on the Feast of St. Scholastica in 1354, when there was a general rustication of students to avoid further bloodshed, those of Merton were specially excepted. To young men of gentle nature and studious habits, such a home in such a place must indeed have offered a welcome haven of rest, however little it may have satisfied modern requirements of amusement, or even of comfort. Mr. Bass Mullinger, in his admirable general description of student life in mediæval colleges, enables us to imagine the experiences of a young Merton scholar at the outset of his career:—

'The boys were never permitted to go beyond the college gates unless accompanied by a Master of Arts; they were distributed through the college in threes or fours as joint occupants of a single room, which served both as dormitory and study; if convicted of any infringement of college rules they were soundly birched in the hall or the court. With the period of bachelorhood they entered upon a stage more nearly corresponding with that of the modern undergraduate. The bachelor would be permitted to occupy a room jointly with a senior Fellow. This room, scantily furnished, would always be comfortless, and in winter often scarcely tenable. There was no fireplace and no stove, this luxury being reserved for the hall alone. The wind whistled shrewdly through the crevices of the ill-made casement, and the dim flame of the oil-lamp flickered fitfully, as the student kept his vigils, intent upon some greasy parchment page, over which an amanuensis and reader had alike laboured with painful toil.'

It appears, indeed, that at a much later period each senior Fellow at Merton, though entitled to occupy a separate room, was bound to keep a young portionista or 'postmaster' sleeping in it. This new order of Merton scholars was founded by John Wylliott about the year 1380. Unlike other young scholars of the college, they did not rise by seniority to what

are now called Fellowships, but formed a distinct class, and there were many complaints of favouritism against the mode of their election. We gather from a college-order made in 1483 that each Master-Fellow had then a right to nominate one Postmaster, and the Sub-Warden was thereby empowered 'to have a Commoner' at his own charge, probably in addition to his Postmaster. In 1498 it was ordered that three more Commoners should be admitted. By an order of 1554 the right of election was vested in the Warden, the 'Distributor,' and three Seniors. In the meantime, we may be sure that Postmasters fared hardly enough, and, in 1498, the college passed a somewhat harsh resolution against the Fellows giving them portions of bread and meat out of hall. Many years afterwards, their allowances were increased by special benefactions of Thomas Jessop and others. In 1506 an order was made forbidding any Bachelor or Fellow to have a scholar (scholasticum) sleeping in his room. This order seems to be explained by one of the following year, which shows that Postmasters were already lodged in the separate building opposite the college gate, long known as Postmasters' Hall, whence they were removed into the college itself in the reign of Elizabeth. By a later order, made in 1543, the right of having a Postmaster was confined to the Sub-Warden and the eight Seniors, but the Principal of the Postmasters was empowered to appoint two more 'Postmasters or Commoners' to wait upon the Bachelor-Fellows in hall. No Fellow was to appoint a Postmaster for any pecuniary consideration, or from any diocese in which the college did not own property.

But, whatever may have been the occupation of the juniors, we are not to suppose that the Warden or the Seniors, in whom the founder of Merton vested the government of his college, were engrossed by the barren culture and tedious disputations of mediæval dialectics and casuistry. It was a leading feature of the foundation that, while all the scholars were to be students, many of them were also to be college officers, and engaged in active business. Those were days in

which estate management demanded minute supervision; elaborate provisions were made for the Warden's periodical visitation of the college property, and separate accounts were sent in by him, the Sub-Warden, the three Bursars, and the Chaplains, who, however, were not included among the scholars. The Warden and 'riding-bursar' were expected to make frequent 'progresses' to visit the college estates, and a Bursars' roll of 1331–2 shows that one of these made by Warden Trenge, with two Fellows, Middleton and Harynton, to settle the impropriation of Emyldon, lasted ten weeks and cost 39*l.* Among the items of this account are the expenses of journeys between Ponteland, Emyldon, Stillington, Durham, and York, fees on doing homage to the Earl of Lancaster at Leicester, numerous fees to officials, servants, and lawyers, charitable subscriptions[1], &c. In other accounts, as for instance in those of 1376–7, occur such miscellaneous items as the following: 'In domo Custodis pro Vice-Com. (? Vice-Canc., the Vice-Chancellor) 19*s.* 11*d.*;' 'datum V. Com. 20*s.*;' '6*l.* 19*s.* pro grandi Congregatione in Debit' (? indebit)—perhaps for degree-fees due from members of the college; 'Pro Pergameno (parchment) ad Indenturam Operariorum novæ Librariæ, 2*s.*;' 'exp. fact. contra Oratorium in camerâ Cust. 25*s.*'

The system on which the Merton estates were managed is clearly described by Professor Rogers in his 'History of Prices[2]:'—

'Before the great plague the college had leased some of its lands. They let their estate at Ibstone for thirty-five years

[1] See Rogers on Prices, vol. i. pp. 139–40, and vol. ii. pp. 635-642. The latter passage contains the details of the charges incurred by the Warden, two Fellows, and four servants, on this journey from Oxford to Northumberland and back; with the costs of procuring the appropriation of the great tithes of Emyldon (now called Embleton), in the Bishop of Durham's court, and an itinerary of the route. The journey to Newcastle occupied only ten days in mid-winter; the return journey through Lincolnshire nine days. But seven weeks elapsed before the business could be carried through, and then only by the liberal distribution of fees among all the officials concerned.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 24–5.

in 1300, and that of Gamlingay for fourteen years from the same date. Basingstoke was let for twenty-one years from 1310; and Wolford had probably been farmed in the same manner, as the earliest bailiff's roll of this estate is in the year 1322, and contains no statement of arrears, one of the most characteristic signs of the commencement of a new system of occupation. The northern estates were let as early as 1280, and the college never farmed on its own account its lands in Leicestershire.

'After the plague most of the lands were let. The wages of labour, despite the restrictions put on them by the statute of 1350, rose so considerably that it was no longer profitable to hold and cultivate by bailiff. Corn, it is true, was dear, for between the years 1349 and 1376 the average price of wheat was only three times below 5*s.* 6*d.*, whereas in the next twenty-five years it was sixteen times below that amount. But even the high prices of wheat were insufficient to compensate the enhanced cost of labour, and the college let its lands on lease, at the best possible terms.

'These leases were peculiar. The stock was let with the land, either in whole or part, the rents being in money or corn. The tenant on the expiry of his lease was bound to return the same amount of seed-corn and of live and dead stock as he received, or their estimated value. The leasing of cattle and sheep on these terms was very common before the plague. One of the most familiar resources of the lord is the firma vaccarum. Cows were let at 5*s.* a year. . .

'This kind of tenure, closely analogous to the métairie of south-western Europe, prevailed for a short time in England. It is abandoned about fifty years after its commencement, not indeed simultaneously, but generally, after such an interval from its having been adopted on any estate. Thus, with hardly an exception, the Merton estates are let on the ordinary method of lease for years, at or about the beginning of the fifteenth century.'

The strange custom of the 'scrutiny,' instituted by the

Founder, was apparently kept up, in a modified form, until the seventeenth century. Once a year, if not once a Term, all the stewards and bailiffs of the college manors were summoned by the Warden to meet himself, the Sub-Warden, and eight or ten of the Seniors, partly for the purpose of auditing the accounts, but partly also for the purpose of hearing complaints against any officers of the college, and notably against the Warden himself. This scrutiny came to be held in the chapel of St. Cross, at Holywell, in Oxford, and minutes of the proceedings in the year 1338, extracted from the college archives, have been preserved by Professor Rogers, in his 'History of Prices[1].' It is clear that on this occasion all the scholars or Fellows present were invited to speak, and the main subject of discussion, besides the state of the manors and the conduct of the Warden or Seniors, was the question of increasing the number of scholars. The duty of doing this as the revenues of the college should be increased had been emphatically laid down by the Founder; but as the selfish interests of the governing body were concerned in limiting the number of beneficiaries, they often neglected even to fill vacancies, and thereby incurred the censure of their Visitor. There is evidence, however, that personal complaints were openly made at these scrutinies against the highest college officers. The practice of reviewing the conduct of the Warden at them seems to have been finally dropped under Warden Chamber, who, as court physician to Henry VIII, had a good excuse for constantly absenting himself; but there is evidence that scrutinies were held much later, and charges against Fellows freely discussed at them.

But the most trustworthy sources of information respecting the studies, discipline, and inner life of Merton College during the later Middle Ages, are to be found in the Injunctions of Visitors, especially those of Archbishops Kilwarby, Peckham, and Chicheley[2]. The first visitation of the college, by

[1] See Appendix C.

[2] The Archbishop of Canterbury was Visitor of the College from its foundation.

Archbishop Kilwarby, was made in 1276, two years only after the foundation, and resulted in a number of interpretative ordinances, regulating almost every detail of college life and administration. Ralph de Leycester was thereby appointed the first Sub-Warden; Gilbert de Moratton[1], Henry de Waneburn, and Albert de Alberwick, the first Bursars; Thomas de Barnaby, William de Lee, and Richard de Clyve, the first Deans. As Bishop Hobhouse observes, 'We find the Visitor regulating the bursarial periods' (three in each year), 'the weekly distribution of money for the fellows' commons, the monthly prospective estimate of the amount that could be afforded. He prescribes that the bursars shall keep the "munimenta" under three locks, and the books of the community under like safeguard, to be assigned by warden and sub-warden to the fellows' uses, under sufficient pledge: that the seal be kept under five locks, and not used without the presence of five persons,'—the Warden, the Senior Fellow, and the three Bursars. 'He assigns to the three deans the duty of determining who and how many scholars are to live in each chamber; he gives them four marks per annum, and the bursars the same, in addition to the fifty shillings received by every fellow, as his statutable allowance. He requires that every fellow shall leave his books to the college at death, or on entering a religious order. He legislates also for a body, not contemplated by the statutes, but created, I presume, by the straitness of the house of Merton, the "scolares extra domum agentes," and receiving their portions "de domo." These he requires to classify themselves according to the rate of their portions, so that they who receive 8*d.* a-week should live "in uno domicilio," and those who receive 6*d.* and 4*d.* likewise. He also ties the Masters of Arts to

In the Register of Archbishop Reynolds there is a letter, supposed to be of about the year 1314, in which the Archbishop deprecates and inhibits the exercise of visitatorial jurisdiction by the Bishop of Lincoln, as Diocesan.

[1] Notices of these earliest college officers, none of whom appear in the lists of Fellows, will be found in the second part of this volume, at the end of the biographical summaries for the reign of Edward I.

lecture for three years from their inception, and not to seek the Chancellor's licence of inception without the cognizance of their college.' It may be added that, while he requires the Warden to visit the College estates constantly, with two of the Fellows, he strictly enjoins him to reside as much as possible, and personally to superintend the college. He further entrusts the Warden and five Seniors with the duty of removing incompetent college officers. These ordinances were issued, not only during the Founder's lifetime, but with his express sanction, testified by his seal. It may be difficult to understand why he did not impose them by his own authority, but we cannot be otherwise than grateful for the light which they throw on the internal economy of Merton in its earliest stage.

The Ordinances and Injunctions of Archbishop Peckham, dated 1284, ten years only after the foundation of the college, are more precise and important[1]. The Visitation which resulted in them was instituted in consequence of the 'discord and dissension which had in some way arisen between the scholars and their Master, Peter of Abingdon, who is Warden, as well of their persons as of their morals.' The Visitor proceeds to correct what he considers to be abuses, beginning with the admission of medical students, on the plea that medicine is a branch of Physics; which innovation he absolutely prohibits. He next condemns the study of the Canon Law, except under strict conditions, and with the Warden's leave. These regulations show that even then professional and utilitarian studies were usurping the place reserved by the Founder for Theology. Other injunctions are directed against the distribution of dividends above the fixed allowance of 50*s.* per Fellow, the exclusion of the Warden from weekly settlements of accounts, the arbitrary assignment of wages to the brewer and cook, the failure to fill up vacant Fellowships, and other practices or omissions indicating a

[1] College accounts, examined by Bishop Hobhouse, record petty expenses incurred by the college in connexion with this Visitation of Archbishop Peckham, who was compelled, two months later (Nov. 9, 1284), to institute a fresh enquiry, 'De discordiâ inter Custodem et Socios;' an early precedent for the word 'Fellow.'

preference of private emolument to statutable obligations. The Visitor further remarks on the neglect to appoint a grammatical tutor, and orders that three grammatical text-books be procured and fastened on a public table in the library. He enforces the direction that a reader should always be employed at meals, and conversation in public conducted in a learned language. He complains that the claims of poverty are overlooked in the admission of students[1], that a due preference is not given to the dioceses in which the college has property, and that applicants who have not mastered the rudiments of grammar are rejected as likely to give trouble. The inmates of the college are specially enjoined never to take meals in the town, nor to enter it alone, but always to walk about in a body, and to return before nightfall. Finally, not only the Fellows, but the brewer, the butler, and other servants of the college, are censured for disobedience to the Warden.

Similar rules of conduct are laid down, but in more general terms, in a short collection of 'Capitular Ordinances,' attributed to the thirteenth century. These Ordinances insist upon the duty of increasing the number of Fellows, as the income of the society may be augmented. They also contain an emphatic warning against the Fellows abetting, even in jest, the squabbles between the northern and southern nations, or those between rival Faculties; and they conclude by prescribing an uniform standard of diet, which is not to be exceeded by Fellows of ampler means than others. It is probable that occasional directions on other points may have been given by the Visitor, for we know that Archbishops Islip and Courtenay visited the college in the fourteenth century. The latter of these Visitations seems to have taken place in 1384, and in 1390 an Injunction was issued by the same Archbishop, censuring the college for electing officers without the Warden's consent, and positively forbidding such a practice in future. Eleven years later (in 1401) we find an

[1] 'Scholares,' but apparently distinct from the Fellows, to whom the Injunctions are addressed.

Injunction of Archbishop Arundel, reciting and confirming one of his predecessor (Courtenay), which shows how lightly statutable obligations were still evaded. It sets forth that some of the Fellows, after living for years upon the Founder's bounty, have entered lay professions and married; while others, even of thirty years' standing, have not proceeded to a degree in Divinity. To check these abuses, it proceeds to ordain, in effect, that every Fellow must take Orders within three or four years after obtaining his degree in Arts, upon pain of expulsion.

The Ordinances of Archbishop Chicheley, issued in 1425, are far more elaborate and instructive. They open with a rhetorical lamentation over the departed glories of Merton College, which had formerly, like a beacon, 'shone forth to all the inhabitants of this realm,' but had then suffered its light to be 'shamefully cast into the shade.' After this, we have rigorous injunctions fixing the number of Fellowships at a minimum of forty-four[1], and reserving to the Visitor a power of filling up vacancies, in default of elections being promptly held—the revenues of the college being declared amply sufficient for this purpose. Three or four additional Chaplains are to be appointed for the maintenance of divine service and theological studies. No wasteful sales of timber are to be allowed, nor is money ever to be raised on college property without the Visitor's consent. Terminal accounts are to be kept by the Warden, Bursars, and other college officers; and, lest the sums actually divided among the Fellows be concealed, there is to be an annual audit, conducted by 'some discreet person, either layman or churchman, being neither a Fellow nor a dependant of the college,'

[1] By a comparison of two Bursars' rolls of 1399–1400, Bishop Hobhouse ascertains that in that year there must have been above thirty Fellows. It is notable that in the accounts of the same year there is an entry of 'Oblations for King Richard.' In 1405 there were twenty-nine Fellows. We learn from Archbishop Warham's decree removing Warden Rawlins that in 1508 there had been about thirty Fellows, but that under Rawlins they had dwindled to seventeen in 1521, although, but for his improvidence, the income of the college would have been larger in the latter year.

who is to reduce the accounts into proper form. Moreover, a copy of them is to be regularly delivered, by a Fellow, into the hands of the Visitor. These Ordinances are to be read every year before the assembled Fellows, and the amplest power of revoking, modifying, or extending them is expressly reserved. Five Commissioners were appointed by a separate deed to enforce these Ordinances. We learn, however, from an instrument in the college Treasury, dated March 4, 1426, that they were made the subject of an appeal to Rome, and that an order was there made requiring the production of some documents necessary for the prosecution of the appeal. How it ended does not appear, but we find that, when Fitzjames became Warden in 1482, the number of Fellowships had again sunk to twenty-six, from which it was raised to thirty-three in the following year. On the whole, we must infer from the general tenor of Visitors' Injunctions, that self-interest often prevailed in Merton over the sense of corporate loyalty; while some of the earliest entries in the first Register (beginning in 1482), prove that fierce personal jealousies sometimes disturbed the peace of the society, and that it was often necessary to inflict the penalty of expulsion.

In the year 1486 an audacious attempt was made by the Chapter of Canterbury to exercise such jurisdiction during a vacancy in that see. This attempt was vigorously resisted by the college. The proceedings taken in this case are fully detailed in the college Register for that year. They commence with a peremptory citation from the Prior, and the resolutions of the college repudiating his jurisdiction. Then follows a racy letter from Dr. Jane, an eminent jurist consulted by the college, who alleges various reasons, both general and technical, against the jurisdiction claimed, encloses a form of protest to be served on the Prior, and ends with these words: 'Let this provocation be shewyd unto him before a notary and wytnes indifferent, whene he ys most bysy in wordys, and rad before hyme, and let hyme doo withowt the gates of your college what hym lykith, and barre

your gates fast, and let hyme not cume in butt in the similitude of a good felow to essay your ale, not to vysite. And thus y trow ye shalle conclude this trobyll for ever; butt for alle this, ley God before you. Yf ye canne understand his righte, let hyme have hitt. Y wolde not for alle erthe conselle the contrary, as knowithe God.' This advice was followed by the college, and the dispute appears to have been referred to arbitration, which, however, was cut short by the succession of Archbishop Morton to the see of Canterbury[1].

Some further light is thrown on the state of Merton during the fifteenth century by a series of domestic Ordinances or Statutes passed in the Chapter periodically held at Holywell Manor, and apparently ranging from 1421 to 1455. The first of these provides that no proceedings shall be taken for the expulsion of an absent Fellow, unless he shall have received three warnings from the Warden, with the assent of six or seven Seniors, each warning to last over a period of a year. Another Ordinance regulates the distribution of Fellows among the privileged dioceses in which the college owns property. Others prescribe the form of oath to be taken by Bachelors on admission. They are to swear, among other things, that they do not possess an income of above 50*s.* a year, that being the stated allowance of a Fellow. They are also to swear that they will not become 'inceptors' before the regular time, or become candidates for Holy Orders without the Warden's licence, or before they shall have completed their term of regency in the faculty of Arts. The object of these regulations was to protect the college against the disgrace of its members breaking down in their disputations, or being rejected on examination. Still more stringent rules were made in 1483, when Bachelors licensed by the Warden 'ad incipiendum' were required to swear that they would regularly frequent both University and college disputations throughout the period of their regency, on pain of loss

[1] According to Professor Burrows, 'the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury are the Visitors of All Souls in a vacancy of the Primacy.'—Worthies of All Souls, p. 309.

of commons for a week in each case of absence without lawful excuse. They also bound themselves to engage twice in the college 'variations' within two years, and twice in the University exercises, called 'Austius,' within three years; as well as to read 'ordinaries' continuously for two years, and in the second year to go through no less than thirty readings of philosophy or metaphysics in each Term. They were also to renounce beforehand all right to 'admission' (probably to an actual Fellowship) if, in the judgment of the Warden and six Seniors, they should not have shown a 'laudable disposition.'

Another rule, passed in 1511, prohibited them from leaving Oxford for a month in the year, without special leave, during the whole period of their regency, whence it is to be inferred that college exercises were carried on, as appears from other evidence, throughout University vacations. Another, passed in 1546, provided that Bachelors should come to supper in hall on the night before their disputations, should then go to bed, should be called at a quarter before six, and should have no breakfast at the expense of the college before completing their disputations. These rules may help us to understand the 'severe discipline' for which Merton was long famous. They are supplemented by regulations for cataloguing the Warden's plate and books, for securing the due payment into the 'cista œconomiæ' of the whole surplus income after deducting necessary expenses, for checking needless 'riding expeditions' at the cost of the college, and so forth. In another Ordinance the 'messenger to Northumberland' appears as a regular officer of the college, and it is about this time that we find separate accounts kept by a college 'procurator,' who seems in some degree to have superseded the Bursars. Then comes an excellent provision for a complete report on the state of the college property being made annually at the Holywell Chapter, and a statute, which ought to have been superfluous, against books or valuables belonging to the college being pawned by the Warden or any of the Fellows.

After 1482, when the Old Register begins, such notices of

college business and manners naturally become more copious. Some of these disclose frequent breaches of discipline. A whole series of regulations is directed to secure the regular settlement of battels, the immediate payment into the College Treasury of all moneys received by the Bursars or any other college officer, and the prompt verification of outgoing Bursars' accounts. The language of these regulations clearly shows that official peculation was by no means unknown, and that strict precautions were necessary against lending, or even selling, utensils belonging to the college, for the profit of individual officers or Fellows. In one order, of 1546, the penalty imposed on a defaulting Fellow includes the loss of clothing (vestitûs), as well as rations, and there is other evidence to show that, at this time, an allowance for dress was still made out of the common fund to the Warden as well as to the Fellows. A like spirit of jealous economy must have dictated the rules concerning the Library—afterwards embodied in the Bachelor's oath of admission—that every Bachelor introducing a stranger should remain by his side at the same desk—that, inasmuch as books had been lost or actually 'alienated,' no books should be taken away from Oxford without the special permission of the Warden and four Seniors upon due security—and that Library-keys should always be left in the custody of residents by Fellows leaving Oxford. It is needless to say that petty sumptuary regulations occupy a very large space in this domestic statute-book of the college. For instance, a Fellow going away for the day, without notice to the Bursar, and returning late, is to have no supper. Any Fellow, having food cooked out of the regular hours, is to pay extra for the cost of cooking; and college dishes, if lent out and lost, are to be replaced at the cost of the cook, who is to take a solemn oath, on entering office, that he will faithfully watch over the crockery. The Seneschal, or steward, of the week is expressly ordered to go with the manciple to market, and personally superintend both the purchase and the distribution of provisions. Of course,

access to the buttery is still more strictly guarded. By an order made at the 'Scrutiny' in 1484, no Fellow is allowed to have ale brought from the buttery to his rooms except at his own expense, and no Fellow is allowed to drink above two cups at the buttery door without paying for it. The buttery door is always to be closed at the discretion of the Bursar, if present; if not, of the Senior Dean. No Fellow, except the four Seniors, the Bursar, and the Seneschal, is permitted to enter the buttery. Bachelors in their year of probation are not to have food and drink at eight o'clock, after supper, at the expense of the college. In 1508, it was thought necessary to legislate directly against the growing practice of giving parties out of college in the city, and coming in at late hours, 'even after ten o'clock.' In 1514 and in 1519, still more stringent rules were made against the same practice, aggravated by that of drawing supplies for such parties from the college kitchen, and it is stated that by their immorality as well as extravagance certain Fellows had brought disgrace on the whole college. Meanwhile, the Bursar was specially permitted to have one stranger in hall, or in his bedroom, at his own discretion, and to entertain farmers at dinner or supper, at a cost not exceeding 8*d.* for one, 12*d.* for two, or 15*d.* for three, with a similar allowance for after-dinner potations. Great efforts were made, though with doubtful success, to enforce punctuality at meals, and to prevent any Fellow getting more than his commons. No Fellow was to come in and dine after cheese was served round, and the extra allowances to be enjoyed on greater or lesser feast-days were accurately apportioned.

Some other regulations show a laudable desire to improve the quality of the singing at the chapel services. By a resolution passed in 1489, it was provided that one of the chaplains best versed in church-music should be appointed precentor, and that others should obey his instructions. It would appear that, about this date, most of the Fellows were laymen, for it is actually ordained in letters patent of the

following year, establishing requiem-services for Thomas Kemp, that these services should be celebrated by the Warden or one of the Fellows, 'if there should be a priest for the time being among them.' In 1507, a rigorous ordinance was passed, requiring that no Postmasters or Commoners should be admitted thereafter, unless they should be able to sing 'cantum fractum' or 'pryckyd song'—'and that with safety'—except those nominated by the eight Seniors, who should be qualified in plain song. Experience soon proved, however, as might be expected, that 'such scholars were difficult to find, and, if found, difficult to keep from wandering about.' Accordingly, in 1519, this ordinance was so modified as to become almost a dead letter. We can hardly suppose, from anything that we know of undergraduate habits in past or present times, that an equally peremptory order against deviations from the orthodox patterns of academical costume was more efficacious or lasting. The same may be conjectured of another order directing all members of the College to act together in University elections. One more order may be mentioned, since it elucidates the origin of the 'year of grace' conceded to Fellows accepting college livings. This privilege seems to have been first granted, at Merton College, by an order of 1545, which explicitly bases it on the ground that, by statutes of Henry VIII's reign, ecclesiastical benefices were subjected to 'first fruits,' considerably reducing, if not absorbing, the income of the first year.

Notwithstanding the homely pettiness of its internal management, and the occasional abuses disclosed in the Injunctions of Visitors, Merton continued to maintain an undisputed supremacy among Oxford colleges for two centuries after its foundation, and during the fourteenth century may almost be said to have stood alone in Oxford[1]. We have already seen

[1] A curious illustration of the unique position then filled by Merton in the University is afforded by the Chancellor's Ordinances for the Langton and Seltone Chests, dated 1336 and 1350 respectively, and preserved in Anstey's 'Munimenta Academica,' vol. i. pp. 133 and 213. After various provisions for the control of

that it was acknowledged as the grand example of a collegiate institution by the founders of Peterhouse at Cambridge, and there is abundant proof that it was so regarded throughout England in that age. In his letter to the Pope on behalf of Merton College, dated 1331, Edward III describes it as 'a magazine of the Church militant, whence have already come forth men of great excellence, whose teaching under many forms of spiritual grace has gone abroad and pervaded the Church.' Bishop Beaumont, writing in 1330, uses nearly the same language. Archbishop Chicheley, lamenting its temporary degeneracy nearly a century later, declares that many of its members by their piety and learning had caused it, like a flaming lantern, to illumine the whole English Church. Still more striking is the recognition of the services rendered by Merton in a writ of Henry VI, bearing date 1444, and sanctioned by Parliament. The College is here recommended as having educated in every kind of virtue and science very many pillars of the Church who had enlightened all Christendom by their works, and as a corporation whose venerable statutes, customs, and social life are reflected in the other colleges of both Universities, like the features of a parent in his offspring.

The remarkable proportion of eminent men produced by Merton before the Reformation goes far to justify this glowing testimony. Anthony Wood enumerates some twenty-eight bishops or archbishops known to have been educated at the College during this period, eighteen of whom issued from it within a century of the Founder's death. One of these—Thomas Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury—addressed to his brother-Fellows of Merton, *ad suos Mertonenses*, that famous treatise, *De Causâ Dei*, which obtained him the title of *Doctor Profundus*, and ranks high among the classical text-books of scholastic theology. Yet the name of Bradwardine

these Chests, it is there ordained that 'the Warden, or Provost, or others having the general administration of Merton Hall, and other like Halls, present and future,' as well as Masters or Scholars of the University, shall have the right of borrowing from the Chest in certain proportions. Such language clearly implies that Merton was at that date the one recognised type of a fully-constituted college.

is not the greatest in the early annals of Merton for the first century after its foundation. 'Within the walls of Merton,' says the latest historian of our Universities, 'were trained the minds that chiefly influenced the thought of the fourteenth century,' and the range of their studies was truly sublime both in its aims and in its orbit. In the chilly squalor of uncarpeted and unwarmed chambers, by the light of narrow and unglazed casements or the gleam of flickering oil-lamps, poring over dusky manuscripts hardly to be deciphered by modern eyesight, undisturbed by the boisterous din of revelry and riot without, men of humble birth and dependent on charity for bare subsistence, but with a noble self-confidence transcending that of Bacon or of Newton, thought out and copied out those subtle masterpieces of mediæval lore, purporting to unveil the hidden laws of Nature as well as the dark counsels of Providence and the secrets of human destiny, which—frivolous and baseless as they may appear under the scrutiny of a later criticism—must still be ranked among the grandest achievements of speculative reason. We must remember that archery and other outdoor sports were then mostly in the nature of martial exercises, reserved for the warlike classes, while music and the fine arts were all but unknown; and the sedentary labour of the student was relieved neither by the athletic nor by the æsthetic pastimes of our own more favoured age. Under such conditions, the fire of intellectual ambition burned with a tenfold intensity, and it was tempered by no such humility as the infinite range of modern science imposes on the boldest of its disciples. In many a nightly vigil, and in many a lonely ramble over the wild hill-sides beyond Cowley and Hincksey, or along the river-sides between Godstow and Iffley, these pioneers of philosophical research, to whom alchemy was chemistry and astronomy the key to astrology, constantly pursued their hopeless quest of Wisdom, as it was dimly conceived by the patriarch Job, fearlessly essaying that perilous and shadowy path which the vulture's eye hath not seen nor the lion's whelp

hath trodden, but which they fondly imagined might lead them up to some primary law governing the whole realm of matter and of mind. They failed, indeed, because success was impossible, but their very failure paved the way for the 'new knowledge' of the Renaissance, and cleared the ground for the methods and discoveries which have made other names immortal.

Whether Roger Bacon ever lectured in Merton College must remain, at least, doubtful, but there is good reason to believe that Duns Scotus, and some (though slight) reason to believe that William of Occam, was once a Fellow of Merton. The authority of Duns Scotus as a logician and divine rivalled that of Thomas Aquinas himself for many generations; while Occam, the great champion of Nominalism, was equally celebrated as the undaunted opponent of Papal supremacy. In this intellectual crusade, which first called forth the spirit of the Reformation, he was followed and eclipsed by John Wyclif, that brightest luminary of English scholasticism, whose connexion with Merton, though much disputed, seems to rest on sufficient evidence. His name appears in a bursarial account of R. Billingham, dated 1356, among the weekly seneschals or stewards of the Fellows' table. It also appears in all the early catalogues of Fellows, as well as in the original list from which the oldest catalogue was almost certainly copied. This list bears the signature of Thomas Robert, who is known to have been a Fellow at least as early as 1395, who left the college in the first year of Henry VI's reign (1422), and who died in 1446. In this list a date (30 Edward III) is appended to Wyclif's name, and to Wyclif's name alone. It is therefore practically certain that Robert, living in the next generation after the Reformer's death, identified him with John Wyclif, the Fellow of Merton. It is still more certain that he was claimed as a Fellow of Merton by a tradition which is confidently adopted by Sir Henry Savile and the author of another catalogue independently compiled in the reign of Elizabeth. Canon Shirley has, indeed, shown that John Wyclif had a contemporary whose name, though different,

might have been confounded with his. But there is no evidence whatever to show that it was so confounded, and the only presumption against the illustrious Reformer having been a Fellow of Merton is the perfectly consistent fact of his being also claimed, as Master, by Canterbury and Balliol Colleges. Other names, of lesser note, yet memorable in the history of scholastic philosophy, may be culled from the ancient catalogue of Merton Fellows. Among these perhaps the first place is due to Walter Burley, a pupil and opponent of Duns Scotus, who earned the literary title of 'Doctor Planus' or 'Perspicuus,'—a title which assuredly few of his compeers deserved.

But it was not only in the metaphysical and theological lore of the Middle Ages that Merton College became celebrated throughout Europe as 'an eminent nurserie of great wits.' Medical studies were evidently introduced into the college within a few years after the death of the Founder; since Archbishop Peckham, in his Injunctions of 1284, censures their introduction as an infraction of the Statutes, and directs that students in medicine should be excluded from either giving or receiving instruction in the college. Happily, this injunction was neglected; medical science continued to be cultivated at Merton as a part of 'philosophy;' and it is remarkable how many of its Fellows devoted themselves to physics, as they were then understood. For instance, John de Gattisden, in the reign of Edward II, was the author of various medical works; John Maudith, in the same reign, was a renowned physician and astronomer; while John Ashindon (or Eastwood), who flourished in the reign of Edward III, is not only described by Anthony Wood as the greatest mathematician and astronomer ever produced by Merton College, but was the reputed founder of a mathematical and astronomical school at Merton, which yielded a succession of students and writers in both these sciences until the Renaissance. Of these, it is sufficient to mention William Rede and Simon Bredon, in the reign of Edward III; Killingworth, Hart, Stacy, Courteys, Blake, Sutton, and Kent, in the reigns of

Henry VI and Edward IV; Dense and Blysse, in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. John Chamber, elected Warden in 1525, was a doctor of medicine, physician to Henry VIII, and associated with Linacre in the foundation of the College of Physicians. Anthony Wood informs us that when Tunstal, Linacre's executor, assigned to Merton College the endowments left by him for the creation of two medical lectureships, he was mainly influenced by the reputation already acquired by the College as a medical seminary[1]. Thus, in 1522, Thomas Musgrave, a Fellow of Merton, was appointed Reader of Physic on the new foundation of Cardinal Wolsey at Christ Church; and some thirty years later Roger Gifford, another Fellow of Merton, became President of the College of Physicians, and Physician to Queen Elizabeth. Meanwhile, the College was sometimes represented by its Wardens and Fellows in camps as well as in courts, both at home and abroad. William de Hothon was sent by Edward I on several missions to Paris and Rome, and William Mykelfeld was nominated by the same king to attend the Synod of Besançon. Bradwardine rendered service to Edward III in negotiations with the French King, and, according to Anthony Wood, Bloxham was employed by him in missions to Scotland and Ireland. Wickford was Chancellor of Ireland under Richard II; Islip was on the Council of Lionel Duke of Clarence; Cranley held the same office, and was also Justiciary (or Viceroy) of Ireland under Henry IV; Kemp not only became Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury under Henry VI, but attended the Councils of Basle and Florence, having also been employed in various confidential offices during the French war. Like Kemp, Warden Rudbourne and his successor Gilbert both accompanied Henry V to Normandy and Agincourt, while Eustace, Colnet, Walbere, and Gate, all Fellows of Merton, attended that king, in various

[1] The assignment of Linacre's endowment to Merton is attributed by Wood to Warden Rainolds' influence with Tunstal, but he adds, as a reason for Tunstal's compliance, that 'there were more physicians in that house than in any other in the University;' Annals, Book i. p. 863.

capacities, on the same expedition. Abendon, the next Warden, assisted by Clynt, a Fellow, distinguished himself as delegate of the University at the Council of Constance; and Rawlins, being in attendance on Henry VIII in France, was present at the siege of Tournay.

We can hardly doubt that if the prescient mind of the founder could have discerned the position of his College at the end of the fifteenth century, his aspirations would have been more than gratified. Seven generations had passed; the memory of the Barons' War had been obliterated by the Wars of the Roses; and the unity of the kingdom had at last been consolidated by the slaughter of the feudal nobility; but the institution which he had planted still flourished and was bearing ample fruit. Three new colleges—Lincoln, All Souls, and Magdalen—had been founded in the last hundred years, and Merton no longer contributed the same proportion of Chancellors and Proctors as it did under the first three Edwards, but it was still the leading college, and retained its pre-eminence until it was overshadowed by the superior grandeur of Christ Church. So long as the ancient religion kept its hold on the English nation, Merton continued to be what its founder intended it to be, the most renowned seminary of the secular priesthood. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, the old order was already changing, and the fountains of scholastic thought were beginning to run dry. This decay was specially marked at Oxford, where the declining number of students attested the decreased activity of teaching. Then followed that marvellous series of events which divides modern from mediæval history, and which lay as far removed as the end of the world from the conceptions of Walter de Merton. He could not foresee or even imagine the revival of learning to be kindled by the dispersion of Greek scholars after the fall of Constantinople, the impulse which the simple invention of printing would give to every branch of human knowledge[1],

[1] Anthony Wood mentions that one John Scolar set up a printing-press opposite Merton Church. It might be inferred from Wood's language that he assigned

the miraculous expansion of ideas to be produced by the discovery of America, or the far-reaching revolt against Church authority which found expression in the Reformation. The great educational movement which sprung from this mighty revolution was popular rather than academical, and by no means tended to increase the relative importance of the Universities. When the only books were manuscripts, the Universities and the very few other institutions which possessed large collections of manuscripts attracted the whole literary class from all parts of the country. When instruction in the sciences was only to be obtained from the lips of a living teacher, and when schools hardly existed elsewhere except in connexion with monasteries, the lecture-rooms of Oxford were thronged by students of all ages, and represented almost the entire machinery of national education. When the Church ruled supreme over the wide realm of thought, and learning was the monopoly of 'clerics,' the great ecclesiastical stronghold of Oxford far surpassed the metropolis itself as an intellectual centre. In the larger and freer life which took its birth from the Reformation, the exclusive privileges of the Universities became inevitably depreciated, and their degeneracy in the earlier part of the sixteenth century presents a humiliating contrast with their ascendancy in the fourteenth. The dissolution of monasteries, and the summary ejection of nonconforming Heads and Fellows under Commissions sent down by Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, as well as the sudden diversion of the national energies into new careers, operated concurrently to empty Oxford of students. Nor was it until near the end of the century that a gradual revival was encouraged by the wise policy of Queen Elizabeth, who twice visited Merton College. Nevertheless, the college system founded by Walter de Merton was destined to survive the temporary decay of the University, and continues to exercise a profound influence on the whole spirit of our higher

this event to the year 1464, and Oxford has been mentioned, perhaps on his authority, as one of the earliest places at which books were printed. But 1518 seems to be the true date of John Scolar's establishment.

education. To him, more than to any one else, it is due that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are more than mere fluctuating aggregates of professors and disciples. Whatever may be said against educational endowments, they afford the only means whereby poor students of ability can be relieved from the necessity of working for their bread, and enabled to cultivate literature or science. Whatever may be said against the collegiate monopoly, which for some generations cramped the freedom of university teaching, it is the colleges which have provided academical homes, with the inestimable advantages of personal superintendence, tutorial discipline, and domestic associations. Instead of being divided into professional faculties, or left to group themselves in clubs according to social or provincial distinctions, English students of various ranks and various pursuits have been united into families by the kindly intercourse of college life. The future clergyman, the future lawyer, the future landowner, and the future statesman, bound together by ties of early friendship, thus acquire a common stock of culture, sentiments, and tastes, which is so distinctive and admirable a feature of English society. If the National Church is penetrated with lay ideas beyond any other ecclesiastical body in Christendom, if members of the learned professions in England seldom degenerate into mere specialists, and if the spirit of caste is but little cherished by the most powerful landed aristocracy in Europe, these results have no distant connexion with the collegiate organisation of Oxford or Cambridge. And thus, in establishing a model seminary for the secular priesthood, independent of Papal jurisdiction, Walter de Merton was unconsciously doing much to mould not only the character of the English Universities, but the character of the English nation, for centuries after the curtain should have fallen upon the great drama of the Middle Ages, transforming almost every mediæval institution in Church or State, but without destroying the identity of Merton College as it existed before the Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

MERTON COLLEGE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE era of the Reformation coincided with a period of marked decline in the vital energy of our Universities. The old scholastic learning had justly fallen into disrepute, but the new learning was slow in establishing itself, and attracted little popular support. Though Oxford contained twelve colleges before the foundation of Christ Church by Cardinal Wolsey, the number of her students was much less than in the middle of the fourteenth century, when she had contained but six. Erasmus, it is true, is said to have there learned the Greek which he afterwards taught at Cambridge, and was, at first, profoundly impressed by the range and vigour of Oxford scholarship. But he afterwards spoke of it less respectfully, and his advocacy of Greek culture at last provoked that strange outbreak of academical barbarism on the part of the so-called 'Trojans,' which raged at Oxford, until it was checked by a peremptory royal letter in 1519. In the next year Wolsey founded the Greek Professorship, and the Visitors sent down by Henry VIII to remodel the University in conformity with the new Church government set on foot classical lectures in five of the leading colleges[1]. Still, the number of degrees continued to fall off, and Anthony Wood goes so far as to describe the University as 'empty'

[1] According to Anthony Wood, in 1518, the Convocation of the University 'made a solemn and ample decree, not only of giving up their statutes into the Cardinal's hands to be reformed, corrected, changed, renewed, and the like, but also their liberties, indulgences, privileges, nay the whole University (*the colleges excepted*), to be by him disposed and framed into good order.'

In 1521 Luther's writings were burned at Oxford by Wolsey's order.

in the reign of Edward VI, when religious controversy had usurped the place of education, as it did in the generation succeeding that of Wyclif. It is, indeed, recorded that in 1546 the number of inhabited halls, which had once amounted to 300, had dwindled down to eight, and that only thirteen degrees were conferred during the year[1]. Queen Mary's short reign had a still more depressing effect on the Oxford studies, and it was long before the University which had witnessed the burning of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, became heartily identified with the great revival of the Elizabethan age.

Notwithstanding that Merton no longer maintained the proud supremacy which it possessed during the first century after its foundation, it was still, at least, in the front rank of colleges. This appears from the frequent recurrence of Merton names among the Commissaries, or Vice-Chancellors, and Proctors[2], as well as from the frequent election of Merton Fellows to the headship of other foundations. It would appear from the list of assessments to the Royal loan of 1522, that Merton and Corpus were each charged with a contribution of 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, being less than was levied upon Magdalen, New College, and All Souls, but above the rating of other colleges. Nor is it without significance that when Henry VIII, with

[1] In Anstey's 'Munimenta Academica,' vol. ii. p. 519, is preserved an interesting list, dated Sept. 9, 1438, of all the Halls then existing 'pro quibus expositæ sunt cautiones.' The names are as follows: Aula Brasenose, Salesurry, Sancti Edwardi in vico Scholarum, Universitatis in vico Scholarum, Vitrea, Stapulina, Nigra in vico Scholarum, Nigra magna, Cervina, Edmundi in Oriente, Bostaris, Hare-hall, Universitatis, Wyloby, Droghda, Yng, Georgii, Profunda, Sancti Thomæ, Leonis, Penkrych, Albani, Aristotelis, Leonina, Frydeswydæ, Sancti Johannis, Mertonis, Sanctæ Mariæ, Bedelli, Sancti Edwardi juxta Collegium Cantuariæ, Angularis, Bekys-yne, Newels-yne (Nevill's Inn), Græca, Pekwater-yne, Takleys-yne, Haburdashe, Brode-gate, Hamptone, Mildredæ, Pury-hall, Alba, Laurentii, Henxey, Edwardi in cœmeterio Sancti Edwardi, Aquilina, Salarii, Vineæ, Latarum portarum, Bovina, Paulina, Scuti, Yvy juxta Brasenose, Sancti Thomæ, Grove, Hawke, 'cujusdam mansi juxta aulam Laurentii,' Scholarum juris civilis, Vitrea, Tryllok's-yn, introitus Sancti Johannis, Colcyl, Cuthberti, Taurina, Sancti Jacobi, Frydeswydæ in parochiâ Ebbæ, Alba juxta muros, Alba in parvo balliolo, Olefante, Andrew-hall—73 in all.

[2] Between 1489 and 1556 the office of Vice-Chancellor was held by seven members of Merton, one of whom (Tresham) filled it for fifteen years; and that of Proctor by seventeen members of Merton.

Catherine of Arragon and Wolsey, visited Oxford in 1518, the Queen specially elected to dine in Merton, on the 17th of April, notwithstanding she was 'expected by other colleges.' A very fulsome entry in the College Register, which commemorates this visit, declares that she was received with as grateful homage as if she had been 'Juno or Minerva,' and that she deigned to express her preference for Merton over all other places of education. Again, Merton was one of the five colleges upon which the support of classical lectures was charged by Henry VIII's Commissioners, who directed the students of the other colleges—that is, University, Balliol, Exeter, Oriel, Lincoln, Brasenose, and Corpus—to attend some of the courses daily[1].

Little is known of the reforms which may have been made at Merton by the Commissioners of Edward VI, in 1548, since a page in the Register, apparently reserved for a transcript of their Ordinances, has never been filled up. Notwithstanding the sweeping powers of expulsion entrusted to these Commissioners, there is no evidence of any Merton Fellow having been actually expelled by their authority, though it is possible that Thomas Carter, who resigned in 1548, may have been coerced into doing so. Certain supplementary injunctions, addressed by them to all the colleges, prohibit undue expenditure on banquets after disputations, as well as gambling at all times, and the use of cards, except in moderation during the Christmas holidays; while they enforce the duty of Masters of Arts to practise regular disputations in theology. By a college order of the following year (1549), referring to the 'Royal injunctions,' Bachelors of Arts are specially enjoined to practise logical disputations[2]; to frequent philosophical lectures, and even medical lectures, if they have a bearing on philosophy; never to go out of

[1] This was in 1535. The words of the Visitor's Order, as given by Strype, are as follows: 'We have further established a lecture in Latin tongue, public, in Marton College, and another in Queen's College; and have assigned and made a sufficient stipend for either of these for evermore.'

[2] These disputations began at 6 in the morning.

Oxford without leave; to read in 'the common Library' for a month beginning in June, after supper, from 7 to 8.30; and to abstain from teaching any one, except in logic or philosophy. Very minute regulations for the Bachelors' disputations were made by the College itself in 1565, and it was specially ordered that they should 'declaim' from memory, and not from a book.

In the year 1553, being the first of Mary's reign, a private Act was procured for the incorporation of Merton College. This Act recites that, although since its foundation the college had exercised all the rights of a corporate body, some doubts had arisen about the validity of its incorporation. The Act proceeds to remove all such doubts, in the amplest manner, and to confer upon the college the fullest power of holding, leasing, and otherwise dealing with real property, including that of acquiring lands, at any time, below the yearly value of 40*l.*, notwithstanding the Statutes of Mortmain, and without being liable to a writ of *ad quod damnum*. Thomas Renold (or Raynolds) is expressly named as the existing Warden and re-appointed as part of the new incorporation.

Several members of Merton College are mentioned as having specially distinguished themselves in the obscure period of University history which followed the dissolution of monasteries and the first throes of the Reformation. One of these, David de la Hyde, is said by Anthony Wood to have been so formidable a disputant that 'at his appearance in the schools place was presently given.' Wood proceeds to describe the rhetorical feats of De la Hyde within his own college in a passage so illustrative of University manners in the sixteenth century as to be worthy of full quotation:—

'He was also very well seen in the Latin and Greek tongues, and excellent in speaking orations, especially in that made before a considerable auditory in his College Hall; esteemed very witty and ingenious according to the humour of this age.

The subject was "de ligno et fœno," made in praise of Mr. Jasp. Heywood, about this time King, or Christmas Lord, of the said College; being, it seems, the last who bore that commendable office. That custom hath been as ancient, for aught that I know, as the College itself, and the election of them after this manner. On the 19th of November, being the vigil of Prince Edmund, King and Martyr, letters under seal were pretended to have been brought from some place beyond sea, for the election of a King of Christmas, or Misrule, sometimes called with us of the aforesaid College, "Rex Fabarum[1]." The said letters being put into the hands of the Bachelour Fellows, they brought them into the Hall that night, and standing, sometimes walking, round the fire, there reading the contents of them, would choose the Senior Fellow that had not yet borne that office, whether he was a Doctor of Divinity, Law, or Physick, and being so elected had power put into his hands of punishing all misdemeanours done in the time of Christmas, either by imposing exercises on the juniors, or putting into the stocks at the end of the Hall any of the servants, with other punishments that were sometimes very ridiculous. He had always a chair provided for him, and would sit in great state when any speeches were spoken or justice to be executed, and so this his authority would continue till Candlemas, or much about the time that the Ignis Regentium was celebrated in that College.'

Another Fellow of Merton, William Tresham, who filled the office of Commissary in 1532, is commended by Anthony Wood for his successful 'endeavours in obtaining subsidies for learning.' Dr. Thomas Raynolds, who filled the same office in 1556, was also Warden of Merton from 1545 to 1559, and is commended for 'his care in renewing the schools and doing other very beneficial offices.' Indeed, according to Anthony Wood, it was chiefly owing to the efforts of these two Mer-

[1] Frequent references to the 'Rex Fabarum,' and the 'ignis regentium' mentioned below, will be found in the biographical notices which form the second part of this volume.

tonians that 'the University, which was almost brought to nothing, began to re-flourish.' Dr. Martiall, who acted as Deputy Commissary to Dr. Raynolds, had apparently brought himself into collision with the City by his zealous execution of his duty as Proctor in 1551, and was himself Vice-Chancellor in 1555, when Ridley and Latimer were burned. They were tried in the Divinity School on Sept. 30. On that famous occasion a sermon was preached before the stake itself in Canditch, opposite Balliol College, on this text, 'Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' The preacher was Dr. Richard Smyth, then Regius Professor of Divinity, who had also been a Fellow of Merton, and was accounted by his adherents 'the best schoolman of his time,' having encountered, and, as they alleged, confuted Peter Martyr himself at a great public disputation on the Eucharist, held in the Divinity School before the Visitors sent down by Edward VI. We also find the name of Robert Ward, one of the Senior Fellows of Merton, on the list of Doctors appointed to sit in judgment on the doctrines of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

It is remarkable that all these representatives of Merton during the Reformation period should have espoused the Catholic side. It has been well pointed out by Professor Montagu Burrows, in the preface to his *Visitors' Register*, that Henry VIII and his successors, 'obeying the instincts of the nation in setting themselves free from the yoke of Rome, found that they must lean on something more solid than the popular will; and the Universities were ready to their hands.' Accordingly, Commissions of Visitation were issued, not only by Henry VIII himself during Cromwell's Secretaryship [1], but also by Edward VI, Mary [2], and Elizabeth. It would

[1] It was Leighton, a member of Cromwell's Commission, who boasted that they had 'set Dunce in Bocardo,' and describes the leaves of scholastic manuscripts, torn up by wholesale, as fluttering about New College quadrangle, and picked up by Mr. Greenfield, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, for use in sporting.

[2] The injunctions made by Cardinal Pole, in 1556, contain several curious articles. All Bachelors and Masters of less than two years' standing are to attend mass between

have been quite in harmony with its ancient traditions and the spirit of its founder, if Merton had cast in its lot with the Protestant cause during this period of trial. It had long been known as a consistent opponent of Papal encroachments, and had produced redoubtable supporters of Wyclif. Having from the first excluded monks and friars, it might naturally have been expected to welcome the fall of monastic bodies, the only formidable rivals of secular colleges, and to head the Reformation movement in the Universities. In this very generation, Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, one of the most eminent Protestant martyrs[1], and Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, one of the most eminent Anglican divines, had owed their education to Merton. Nevertheless, the sympathies of its resident Fellows appear to have been mainly Catholic. The College Register, though ominously silent on the great political vicissitudes of that eventful age, bears witness that masses and requiems for the souls of benefactors were celebrated in the reign of Edward VI, and in the first year, at least, of Elizabeth. Perhaps the spoliation of Merton Library, from which 'cartloads of MSS. were taken away' in 1550, by the authority of Edward VI's Visitors, had not disposed the Fellows to regard Protestant iconoclasts with much favour. At all events, during the short ecclesiastical reaction under Philip and Mary, Dr. Smyth and Dr. Tresham, the leading spirits in the College, were at once rewarded by Canonries of Christ Church, and Smyth also became one of Queen Mary's chaplains; while Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, is

5 and 6 in the morning, and no one is to read books of his own in Chapel. Latin is to be spoken in Hall and on all public occasions, though Edward VI's Commissioners had authorised the use of English. All are to take meals in Hall. Fanciful dresses are strictly prohibited. No one is to wear a beard of more than a fortnight's growth, or shave his head, except for reasons of health to be approved by the Warden. No one is to sleep out or to have a stranger in college for the night. All members of the Society are to attend University sermons and disputations in a body.

[1] The connexion of Bishop Hooper with Merton College is not certain, though A. Wood believed him to have been educated there under his kinsman, John Hooper, elected Fellow in 1510.

the only Fellow of Merton recorded by Anthony Wood to have sought refuge beyond the seas, with numerous exiles from other colleges.

With the accession of Elizabeth the scenes were rapidly shifted and the parts of the chief actors reversed. The reforming party resumed its ascendancy in the University, and many of the Catholics endeavoured to make their peace with the new Queen, though some retired into banishment to await the progress of events. Dr. Raynolds, the Warden of Merton, and Dr. Tresham, were among those deputed by the University Convocation to present her with an address of congratulation. Both, however, were ejected by the Commissioners appointed in the following year (1559) to 'make a mild and gentle, not rigorous reformation.' Tresham is expressly stated to have refused the Oath of the Queen's Supremacy. Dr. Raynolds had conformed during the reign of Edward VI, but had probably relapsed during that of Mary. Of the grounds upon which he was now deposed we have no direct evidence, but there is an entry in the college Register, dated September 7, 1559, which shows how summary the process was. On that day Lord Williams, Dr. Wright, and Dr. White called on the Warden at his lodgings, and announced to him, in the presence of several Fellows, that his place was vacant, the sentence having been recorded against him three days earlier by the Queen herself at Hampton Court. Not long afterwards he died in retirement, if not in prison, near Exeter. The Dean of Christ Church, the President of Magdalen, the President of Corpus, the Master of Balliol, the Rector of Lincoln, the President of Trinity, the Master of University, and the Principal of St. Alban Hall were either turned out or forced to resign by the same authority. Smyth was imprisoned in Archbishop Parker's house and recanted, but afterwards reverted to Romanism and obtained preferment from Philip II. Only three Fellows of Merton—De la Hyde, Atkins, and Dawkes—are mentioned as having suffered the penalty of expulsion for refusing the

Oath of Supremacy[1]; whence it may be inferred that others found means to satisfy their consciences more easily. The mandate for their expulsion solemnly warns the Warden and Fellows 'to loke narrowlye to suche as shall be disobediente or showe ani contempte of the godlye reformation in Religion now established in this Realme by publike authoritie.'

The successor of Dr. Raynolds, James Gervase, was elected under a mandate from the Queen's Visitors. Four only of the Senior Fellows voted for him, one voted for another person, and a sixth declined to vote, while Gervase himself gave his vote for a certain Pawle. The Visitors accordingly instituted him, but are said to have been disgusted by such a display of discord. Three years later, however, Gervase resigned, and the election of his successor gave rise to a far more disgraceful conflict, which throws much light on the latitude of jurisdiction claimed by college Visitors, especially during the religious troubles of the sixteenth century. It appears from several letters of this period, recorded in the Register, that the Archbishops often interfered in the ordinary administration of the College, as, for instance, by restraining the admission of Fellows, and the concession of leases. A more peremptory jurisdiction had recently been exercised by Archbishop Warham in 1521, when he deposed, for various breaches of the Statutes, Warden Rawlins, who had stood in high favour with Catherine of Arragon, and who lived to be Bishop of St. David's. It had also been exercised by Archbishop Cranmer in 1534, when he made a hasty order sweeping away some of the ancient customs of the College, which customs were afterwards restored by Warden Chamber, to whose discretion the Archbishop had considerately intrusted the matter. One of these customs was the practice of Bachelors 'capping' Masters in the college quadrangle[2], and it is recorded in the College

[1] The letter of the Bishop of London, ordering their expulsion by authority of the Commissioners, is dated Dec. 3, 1560.

[2] From that date, Bachelor Fellows, on proceeding to their M.A. degree, were obliged to take an oath binding them to uphold this and other customs and usages in future. The form of oath is given in the College Register, under the year 1535.

Register that the University authorities protested against Cranmer's orders, on the ground that it would be utterly subversive of discipline in other colleges[1]. Upon the resignation of Gervase, however, in January, 1562, the Senior Fellows openly rebelled against the authority of their Visitor, then Archbishop Parker: and the scene that ensued became memorable in the domestic annals of the University. The story is graphically told by Anthony Wood, as well as by Strype, in his *Life of Matthew Parker*, but the most authentic account is to be found in the College Register itself.

By the old Statutes of Merton, the Senior Fellows were bound to choose three persons, out of whom the Visitor should nominate one as Warden. Instead of this, they presented five persons, two or three of whom had never been members of the college. This constituted no disqualification, for the Statutes expressly authorised the Seniors to select three persons 'either belonging to the House or elsewhere;' indeed Mr. Rowland Philipps, who became Warden in 1521, is truly stated by Anthony Wood to have been 'a stranger and never a Fellow.' On the other hand, the Statutes do not contemplate the presentation of five names. In this case, the Visitor, acting under the advice of counsel, and treating the appointment as having passed to himself, *jure devolutionis*, thought proper to ignore all those presented, and to nominate Mr. John Man or Mann, formerly a Fellow of New College, and a chaplain of his own. This nomination was vehemently resented by the Fellows, and especially by what Strype calls 'a great Popish faction in the College, headed by one Hall.' This Hall, being Sub-Warden, had exerted himself during the vacancy to restore certain usages which Protestants deemed superstitious. 'Among such,' as Anthony Wood informs us, 'was the singing certain hymns, in the College Hall, round

[1] The account of this transaction in the Register shows a very conciliatory spirit on Cranmer's part. The Register describes the customs as observed through so many ages that prescription alone would suffice to justify them.

the fire on Holyday evenings and their Vigils, enduring from the Vigil of All Saints to the evening of the Purification, which custom being before annulled in Dr. Gervase his time, the Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins were appointed in their places, which do to this day continue. But so it was that when Mr. James Leech, one of the Junior Fellows, had took the book into his hands ready to begin one of the said Psalms, Mr. Hawle stept into his place, offering to snatch the book from him, with an intent, as 'tis said, to cast it into the fire, adding, moreover, that neither he nor the rest would dance after his pipe.'

The new Warden did not present himself till March 30th, when he appeared at the College gate with the Vice-Chancellor and Warden of New College, was admitted to the Hall, and delivered the Visitor's letter of nomination. The Fellows begged for a delay of three days, but, on his presenting himself again on the 2nd of April, he found the gate closed against him 'by the general consent of the Fellows,' as Anthony Wood says, but in reality by a vote of the majority, not including Mr. John Broke, the Senior Fellow. Mann thereupon sent for Broke, who, 'being of a base and false spirit,' as Anthony Wood is pleased to describe it, had the gate opened and admitted him. 'At whose entrance,' says Anthony Wood, 'the Fellows were so enraged that Mr. Hawle, as 'tis reported, gave the new Warden a box on the ears for his presumption to enter into the gates without his leave.' Strype's version of the affair is somewhat different, and is founded on the result of the official inquiry afterwards made, according to which, Hall caused the gates to be shut by the servants against Mann, and had him carried back, 'whereas he was almost in,' irreverently plucking the Statute Book out of his hand. Upon these indecorous incidents the Register is prudently silent.

Archbishop Parker was not a man to put up with such mutinous conduct. He forthwith issued a Visitation, conducted by his Vicar-General and two other Commissioners,

which seems to have lasted a whole year. The Commissioners first admitted and established Mann in the Wardenship on the 27th of May. On the 28th, a most humble letter of submission was signed and sealed by the College. The Commissioners next propounded twenty questions, some of which touched on the general management and discipline of the college, but the last eight of which specially related to Hall's behaviour and the opposition to Mann's nomination. In the end, according to Strype, 'Mann was settled in his Wardenship, and this dangerous, infectious person, Hall, was, according to his deserts, expelled,' having been convicted of proselytising, writing offensive libels against Protestantism, and other disorderly acts. He retired to University College, and died of disappointment in the following December. The Visitation was continued by three fresh Commissioners, and the Romanising party in the college was at last effectually broken up. Roger Gifford, Linacre Lecturer, and one of Hall's chief supporters, anticipated the sentence of the Commissioners by resigning his Fellowship. We learn from the College Register[1] that, although he was afterwards pardoned by the Archbishop, and obtained letters of recommendation both from him and the Earl of Leicester, then Chancellor of the University, and a perfect adept in favouritism, he never could induce the College to re-elect him, or even to create some new office for him by way of compensation for his loss. He became, however, a Fellow of All Souls, President of the College of Physicians, and Physician to Queen Elizabeth. Potts and Applebe, two other malcontent Fellows, were expelled in the following year for alleged perjury in connection with this affair; and it 'went hard' with Benyer (or 'Bynion'), another opponent of the new Warden. When the Visitors, however, appeared on October 19 for the purpose of continuing the Visitation, all the Fellows agreed that, as it had been adjourned to October 14 and no proceedings had then been taken, it must be held to have terminated.

[1] June 6, 1566.

Anthony Wood relates, with evident satisfaction, the expulsion of Broke, two years later, for peculation in the office of Bursar. He admits that Mann became eminent enough to be sent on a mission to Spain, after Don Goseman de Sylva had been received in England as Ambassador of Philip II, but he does not fail to preserve the playful sarcasm of Queen Elizabeth that, 'as her brother, the King of Spain, had sent to her a Gooseman, so she to him a Man-goose.' Meanwhile, the example made at Merton was not lost upon other Colleges, and reactionary tendencies among the other Fellows were successfully checked throughout the University.

A curious letter from Archbishop Parker to the Attorney-General, concerning the affairs of Merton, dated June 21, 1567, is preserved by Strype; whence it appears that, whereas he, as Visitor, had enjoined that at least three Fellows should be in Holy Orders, the College had passed a by-law 'that none of the younger Fellows might be priests.' The Archbishop points out that under the Merton Statutes all Fellows are required to study Theology, and attributing the dislike of Ordination to love of pleasure, declines to relax his former injunction, as the Attorney-General had apparently requested. In the same year (1567) Parker instituted another Visitation, and on March 8, 1567-8, issued a fresh set of Injunctions, by virtue of a special commission under the Great Seal, whereby certain malcontent Fellows, who had taken advantage of Mann's absence, were suppressed, and various abuses regarding the college property redressed. These Injunctions, also preserved by Strype, disclose a strange want of discipline and loyalty in the College. They recite that three Fellows, designated by initials only, but probably Thomas Williams, Robert Fletcher, and William Rowe, had confessed to 'a certayne Byll of conspiracye written by the hande of the said R. F. at a fyer in the chamber of T. I., late fellowe there,' which compact had been subscribed on oath by those present, with the intent 'partly for waginge of Lawe against the Archebusshope of Canterbury for his patronage and jurisdiction in the said

house, as also in communication had for borowynge of monye and for the lease and sale of Ibsconne (Ibstone) wood, to mayntayn there quarrell agaynst the said Archebusshope, as also for the mayntenance of there expulsion of R. L., and restoring to there fellowshippes such persons as the saide Archbisshope had either expelled or suspended, and also for the satisfaction of the lossys of the said parties so suspended.' The Injunctions proceed to impose various penalties on the Fellows thus implicated, including rustication, and the signature of a solemn form declaring their contrition and renunciation of the conspiracy. Latham is to have the expenses of his journeys paid, while those of the malcontents are to fall upon themselves. A somewhat confused provision follows, designed to secure that at least three Fellows shall always be in Orders, and apparently requiring the three Senior resident Fellows to notify within six weeks their readiness to take Orders, failing which they are to lose their Fellowships, when the three next Senior residents are placed under a like obligation, 'unless some other of the Junior Fellows will take the same.' There are also provisions against waste of the college estates, and the intrusion of junior Fellows into the government of the college, which is to be conducted by the Sub-Warden and seven Seniors, who are bound to reside at least half the year. The Injunctions conclude with a notable declaration that any former Statute, Injunction, or Ordinance, 'which be either contrarye or derogatorie to the eternall worde of God and to the state of religion at this presente by publike aucthoritie established; or be contrarye or derogatorie to the imperiall state of the Crowne or any of the Lawes and Statutes belonginge unto the same, shall be utterly voyde and of none effecte, and so abrogated that the consciences of the Warden and Fellowes for the tyme beinge may be quite exonerated and discharged by these presentes.' These Injunctions are signed by Archbishop Parker, the Bishop of London, E. Gerrard, Thomas Yale, and William Drurye.

In the year 1562, during the Wardenship of Mann, but apparently during his absence, Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford in state, and was regaled with an incessant round of orations, disputations, and Latin plays, in which several Merton Fellows bore important parts. Goseman, the Spanish Ambassador, was quartered in the Warden's lodgings at Merton, and the Royal party attended disputations in the college hall on Natural and Moral Philosophy. It is particularly mentioned that John Potts, afterwards expelled, had a learned discussion with Cecil himself on certain opinions of Aristotle.

On Mann's death, in 1569, three names—all of persons who had never been Fellows—were duly submitted to Archbishop Parker, who nominated one of them, Bickley, another of his own chaplains. Bickley had always been a strong Protestant, and was one of those who took refuge abroad, after the departure of Peter Martyr from Oxford, on the commencement of the Marian persecutions. He also seems to have been an earnest promoter of that literary revival which now began to show itself in the University, and was heartily encouraged by Queen Elizabeth. Anthony Wood mentions 'that she gave a strict charge and command to both the Chancellors of both the Universities to bring her a just, true, and impartial list of all the eminent and hopeful Students (that were Graduats) in each University, to set down punctually their names, their colleges, their standings, their faculties in which they did *eminere*, or were likely so to do,' in order that she might herself select men to serve as chaplains or secretaries to ambassadors, or to receive other preferment. The effect of this discriminating patronage was sensibly felt at Oxford, and we know that Merton fully shared the benefits of it. This College had always set a good example by recruiting itself from the rest of the University, and, in 1563, having no good preacher, had imported a certain Edmund Bunny to represent it in that capacity, who afterwards competed with Henry Savile for the Wardenship. In 1565 it elected Thomas Bodley Prælector of Greek, and soon afterwards increased his

stipend out of the annual sum paid by a farmer in lieu of twenty sheep, which seems to have been his customary rent. It is some proof of the liberal spirit which prevailed among its Fellows under Bickley, that when John Drusins, a Flemish scholar, was invited to lecture on Syriac in the Oxford Schools in 1574, they gave him rooms in college and a salary of 40*s.* per annum for five years, besides what had been allowed him already by Magdalen, so that he might privately instruct Merton students in that language. The College Register mentions another vote of 20*s.* to two French Protestant exiles in 1575. So, again, in 1579, when several foreign scholars were appointed by the University to deliver catechetical lectures against Romanism, Merton contributed 40*s.* a year towards the salary of one of them, Anthony Corrano. In 1626 a grant was made for the salary of a German teaching Arabic. The College also subscribed to maintain Albericus Gentilis, and other learned refugees, during their residence at Oxford; specially retaining the services of Bensirius, of Caen, in Normandy, to lecture on Hebrew to its students, at a salary of £3 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, when great efforts were being made to recall him to his own country. It may be added that in 1590, and again in 1604, the College voted money to aid the people of Geneva in the distress occasioned by their war with Savoy. So too, in 1623, the College voted £6 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, partly out of the stipends of the Warden and Fellows, partly out of the corporate revenues, for the relief of 'quinque Palatini' recommended by the King of Bohemia.

Dr. Bickley seems to have governed his own college firmly and well[1], and his correspondence with Archbishop Grindal on the case of Wilkes, an ejected Fellow, shows how stoutly he could maintain the rights of the College against the Visitor himself[2]. The Register shows that, in 1573, four years

[1] In 1576 he signed a peremptory order that no changes should be made, or dispensations granted, in his absence, or without his consent, except in case of urgent necessity.

[2] See biographical note on William Wilkes, under date 1572, in the 2nd Part of this volume.

after his election, there were no less than twelve Bachelor-Fellows, of whom four were mere probationers, and so few Masters of Arts that a Bachelor of Arts was Dean, and another Bursar. This apparently proves that the statutable duty of keeping up the succession had been greatly neglected by his immediate predecessors, either because the College was impoverished, or because the Fellows consulted their own selfish interests. The former explanation derives some probability from occasional entries in the College Register, which shows that, notwithstanding the irregular suspension of Fellowships, the College was often in pecuniary difficulties. The Bursars, we are told, habitually deferred the settlement of their accounts, evidently in the vain hope of putting a better face on them by delay. In the year 1500, as the Register informs us, the College being unable to get in heavy arrears due to it, the number of Fellows being large, and the price of wheat being exorbitant—that is 15*d.* a bushel—it was found impossible to keep up the household on its ancient footing without running into debt, and it was therefore ordained that three Fellows should make shift with the same dishes as had formerly been allowed for two. It is added that the Warden declared his intention of allotting to each Fellow only 15*d.* a week, and insisted upon the Bursars making up any excess over this quota out of their own pockets, though he was soon afterwards induced to sanction a supplementary allowance[1]. On the other hand, by a college order made in 1556, under Raynolds, it was provided that, whereas the price of cloth had greatly risen, and the old allowance of 20*s.* for a Fellow's 'livery' or clothing and 30*s.* for the Warden's was no longer sufficient, a round sum of £25 16*s.* 4*d.* should thenceforth be annually divided in due proportion between the Warden and such of the Fellows who should reside in the college above half the year. In 1565, under Mann, 20 marks annually were

[1] A good example of the minute details then regulated by college orders is a solemn resolution passed in 1563 that all the spices used in the college should thenceforth be purchased in London.

allotted to the Warden for clothing, and 20 for his stable expenses, besides the wages of his servants, and other customary allowances, which, however, were not to include 'candles and petty items of the same kind.' On the resignation of Warden Philipps, in 1525, the state of the College treasury is described as pitiable, so that even the College plate was actually in pawn, and had to be redeemed by his successor, Dr. Chamber[1]. Under Bickley, the affairs of the College were, doubtless, better managed; though we may infer that it was necessary to practise strict economy from the fact that old college plate was twice sold, once for repairs in the chapel, and once for the purchase of land. Upon the accession of Savile, an account of the pecuniary assets then belonging to the College was taken in presence of all the Fellows. It shows a sum of £70 in the hands of the Bursars, a sum of £164 9*s.* 5*d.* in the *cista jocalium*, £81 secured by bonds lodged in the *cista*, and £25 of outstanding debts; £340 9*s.* 5*d.* in all.

It is probable, however, that vacancies on the foundation were duly filled up during Bickley's Wardenship, since, in the year of his resignation (1585), no less than five Fellows of Merton took a Doctor's, and six a Master's degree. The Merton historian, Astry, whose MSS. were copied and annotated by Kilner, claims for Bickley, as well as for Savile, who followed him, the special credit of having kept the Fellowships open, as they were by their original institution, 'to the whole exterior flower of this University, and without excluding that of any other that might be in the kingdom.' Of Bickley Anthony Wood records, 'that on the Earl of Leicester's recommending to him an unfit person for a Fellowship, he caused a pair of scales to be brought to the place of election, and, having first read his lordship's letter, put it into one scale, and weighed the

[1] Complete inventories of the college plate in the first year of each Wardenship are preserved in the college archives, and record an enviable array of highly decorated cups. Those taken on the accession of Wardens Savile and Brent, respectively, are printed in Appendix D.

book of our Statutes against it.' We learn incidentally from an entry in the Register that it was the custom for the election of a Bachelor-Fellow to be celebrated by a great feast, the expense of which was very wisely commuted in 1572 into a contribution to the College Library[1].

During the sixteen years of Bickley's Wardenship the office of Proctor was filled at least four times by Fellows of Merton, three of whom afterwards attained some distinction. Thomas Bodley, Junior Proctor in 1569, became the celebrated founder of the Bodleian library, as well as a benefactor of his own college[2]. Arthur Atie, Senior Proctor in 1569, was also Public Orator of the University, and, strange to say, became successively private secretary to the Earl of Leicester, and favourite of the Earl of Essex, whose disgrace he shared. He was then forced to abscond, but was afterwards knighted by James I. Wood accuses him of abusing Leicester's influence to obtain profitable leases for himself, and, in particular, of fraudulently procuring a lease of the manor of Malden in Surrey, from Merton College, for 500 years. The College Register shows that it was actually granted for 5,000 years, and nominally to Queen Elizabeth. Another Mertonian, John Tatham, Junior Proctor in 1573, was elected Rector of Lincoln College in the next year. Henry Savile, Junior Proctor in 1575, was afterwards appointed Tutor to Queen Elizabeth for the Greek Tongue; he was elected Warden of Merton in 1585, upon the recommendation of Lord Burghley, and became Provost of Eton in 1596. The letter of Lord Burghley, signed also by Walsingham, is worthy of quotation. It is addressed 'to our loving friends the Subwarden and fellowes of Merton Colledge in Oxoñ,' and runs as follows: 'After our harty comendations—whereas doubt has bene made to whom the right of nomination to your Wardenshippe nowe voided by Dr Bickeley's preferment ought in lawe to belonge, and thereupon Her Majesty, whose prerogative in

[1] Bickley left a benefaction for an University sermon, and in 1611 Convocation directed it to be preached on May 1.

[2] He was made College Prælector of Greek in 1565. *Supra*, p. 56.

like cases is great, hath bene moved and shewed herself inclinable in favour of M^r^ Savile, one of your foundation; We tendering both his and your howse's securitye, and understanding the said M^r^ Savile to be veary desirous that it should proceed also by way of election, have thought good to wishe and advise you that, observing the fourme of your statutes, you seeke to concurre also with Her Majestye's inclination, especially the man being such as you knowe, and in our judgement for learning experience and discretion fitt for a greatter government; And so, nothing doubting of your forwardnesse herein, we bid you hartily farewell. From the Courte this last of Februarye, 1585.' The College promptly returned a favourable reply, and requested Burghley to use his good offices in procuring the Visitor's sanction. The correspondence terminates with a handsome letter of thanks from Walsingham. The patronage of Burghley was justified by success. Savile proved a typical specimen of the Elizabethan scholar and gentleman; and his name is still perpetuated in the University by the Savilian Professorships of Geometry and Astronomy, which he founded in 1619, 'finding the mathematical studies to be neglected by the generality of men.'

The Wardenship of Savile, extending over thirty-six years (1585–1621), may be regarded, together with that of Bickley, as a prosperous episode in the history of Merton. The College records contain many traces of his beneficent activity, including the useful institution of an arithmetic lecture, to be held twice a week[1]. In 1589 the whole north wing of the College, being in a ruinous state, was rebuilt from the gate to the Warden's lodgings, which, in those days, had no street entrance. Soon afterwards the chapel was fitted with new seats. In 1608 the first stone of the Fellows' quadrangle was laid, the contract for carpenters' work was alone amounting to £430, and it is stated that £15 a year was

[1] It appears that in 1580, Postmasters' Hall had been rebuilt out of money borrowed from the 'Bursa Portionistarum,' but in 1594 it was let to Mr. Lane, a physician, the Postmasters having been removed into the College.

to be paid to the Lord of Headington Manor for stone to be used in the work. By Michaelmas, 1610, it was completed, and, in the following year, £20 was voted to the architect as a mark of satisfaction on the part of the College. This extension of Merton is specially mentioned by Isaac Casaubon in a letter dated July, 1613. The old 'Postmasters' Hall,' opposite to Merton, had been rebuilt in Bickley's time, but St. Alban Hall, then in the possession of Merton, and now restored to it, was rebuilt under Savile out of a sum bequeathed by Alderman Barham, of London, and a lease of the garden adjoining it was procured from Balliol[1]. The Postmasters were now removed into the College, and their allowances increased in 1595 by the benefaction of Thomas Jessop, which took effect in 1610. In 1597, a monument to the founder was erected in Rochester Cathedral, with an inscription composed by Savile. At his instance, too, the College placed seasoned timber at the disposal of Bodley for the construction of the Bodleian Library, and shortly afterwards added a contribution of books. About the same time his brother, Thomas Savile, purchased books for the College Library at Frankfort Fair. But Anthony Wood tells us that, of all Savile's benefactions to Merton, the greatest was the care which he took in getting deserving persons chosen Fellows, and afterwards obtaining promotion for them: 'In his first election, which consisted but of four, were Henry Cuffe and Francis Mason; in the last, which consisted of seven, four of them were esteemed eminent, whereof two were afterwards bishops; and during the whole course of his Wardenship he was diligent, when an election was approaching, to search both the Universities for candidates that might do honour to his society.' After he became Provost of Eton, six Fellows of Merton, including the renowned John Hales, were elected Fellows of Eton, and four Prebendaries of Windsor, doubtless by the use of his interest; and one of these, John Chamber, a member of all three bodies, being a

[1] See Appendix A.

great friend of Savile, left £1,000 to found those Eton scholarships at Merton which still bear his name. The fate of Henry Cuffe, before mentioned, was far different. He was made Regius Professor of Greek, and in that capacity addressed Queen Elizabeth in an oration at Carfax, on her second visit to Oxford in 1592; but, like Arthur Atie, attached himself to Essex's party, and was hanged at Tyburn on March 30th, 1601. Altogether, no less than 67 Fellows were elected under Savile's Wardenship, and a complete list of the members of Merton College in 1612 enumerates 22 Fellows, 12 Postmasters, 15 commoners, 29 poor scholars, 2 chaplains, and 12 servants [1].

We have a description of Elizabeth's second visit from the pen of an eye-witness, William Stringer, who came in attendance on Lord Burghley; and in Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* is preserved the Latin oration delivered by Sir Henry, then Mr., Savile, in summing-up the first disputation provided for the amusement of that much-enduring Princess. On the 25th of September, all the Members of the Privy Council then in Oxford, with the French Ambassador and most of the Court, about sixty in all, were sumptuously feasted by the College in the hall; after which followed a public discussion on the question, *An dissensiones civium sint utiles Reipublicæ*, in which all the parts were sustained by Cuffe and other Fellows of Merton. On the following day, Dr. Dochyn, Linacre Lecturer on Physics, opened another discussion, on the question whether food or air had most effect in changing the human body, when Dr. Ratcliff, a late Fellow of Merton and Principal of St. Alban Hall, entertained the company by exhibiting his own portly frame, and defying any man to show a change so great produced by the operation of air. After the Queen's departure, Thomas Savile, the

[1] Even Savile did not wholly escape criticism from the Fellows. In 1593 we find complaints of the Warden filling up vacant offices by his own authority, and an order that offices should be filled up in future by regular college elections, saving the Warden's veto. There was also another complaint of the Warden burning too much wood.

Warden's brother, one of the Proctors, who had been a prominent actor in the festivities, died in office, and was honoured with a public funeral. In the assessment of colleges, for the expenses of this reception, Merton and St. John's were rated at £400 each, Christ Church being rated at £2,000, Magdalen at £1,200, New College at £1,000, All Souls and Corpus at £500 each.

It is remarkable how often the University was scourged by pestilence in the sixteenth century, and Merton College was by no means exempt from its ravages. The most appalling outbreak was that which took place during the Black Assizes, as they were afterwards called, in the year 1577, when some five hundred persons are said to have perished of gaol-fever, including the Judge, the High Sheriff, most of the jurors, and a hundred members of the University. No Fellows of Merton are mentioned among the victims, but Anthony Wood says that fatal cases occurred in every college and hall. It is pleasant to relate that Dr. Bickley, then Warden, earned public gratitude by his devotion to the sick, when even the doctors had deserted their posts. But this was only one of many similar visitations. In 1489, a terrible pestilence in Merton College had carried off Thomas Kent, a Fellow, and a famous astronomer. In 1493, another plague drove the Merton Fellows into retirement at Islip. In August, 1503, the plague broke out again in the University, and the Principal of St. Alban Hall, with most of the students, fled to Islip. In October it attacked Merton, and one Fellow who died of it was buried in the chapel. Others took refuge at Stow Wood, or Wootton, near Cumner. Two more Fellows of Merton carried off by the plague were buried in the chapel in 1507, and another in 1509. In 1511 or 1512 we have an entry in the College Register: 'Licentia sociis concessa propter metum pestis.' In 1544 the plague raged so fiercely in Oxford that Merton excused its Bachelors from attendance in the schools. In 1571 almost all University proceedings were interrupted by the same cause during most of the year, and

a general leave of absence was granted to members of Merton. Above 600 residents of the University were reported to have died of plague before April 1572, besides 700 or more who recovered. In 1575 another visitation of plague, noticed in the Merton Register, obliged the Vice-Chancellor to postpone the commencement of October Term. In 1578, and again in 1582, it broke out afresh; the Vice-Chancellor suspended all University lectures, and Merton College gave its Masters a dispensation from their statutable exercises. In 1603 it spread from London to Oxford, all University business was suspended during Michaelmas Term, and the colleges, before dispersing, made weekly contributions for the relief of the plague-stricken citizens[1]. Such were the sanitary difficulties under which academical studies were carried on in what posterity has been taught to regard as the golden age of Elizabeth.

The death of the great Queen, following upon the close of the sixteenth century, bisects almost equally the memorable interval which elapsed between the struggles of the Reformation and the struggles of the Civil War. During this period, embracing two whole generations, and crowded with events famous in English history, the University was permitted to enjoy a season of salutary repose. But a subtle change was insensibly passing over it of which the effects are not yet exhausted. In outgrowing the narrow circle of mediæval science, in casting off the chains of ecclesiastical authority, and in freely admitting the study of heathen literature, it had become at once more truly catholic and more truly national. It was no longer a seminary of the clergy, either regular or secular, but a training school for the professional classes, as

[1] On September 6 elaborate regulations were made for Merton College pending this outbreak. All its members were to go into the country, except the Sub-Warden, the Bursar, the Dean, the Senior Fellow, one chaplain, one cook, the porter, four scholars, and the Warden's servant, who was to act the part of purveyor, all the supplies being provided by the lessee of the Holywell farm. The dispensation of non-residence was to last until November 1, or, at latest, February 2, if the plague should still continue, when all the members of the College were to assemble, and prosecute their studies, at Cuxham. Similar regulations were made in 1625.

well as for the governing classes and statesmen of the realm. On the other hand, the rise of public schools and grammar schools, under the impulse of the Reformation movement, had relieved it from the duty of teaching boys in rudimentary subjects, and the decay of Halls may well have checked the influx of those humbler and poorer scholars who had peopled the back streets of Oxford in the Middle Ages[1]. A provision in the Statute regulating college leases was gradually increasing the wealth of colleges, and encouraging a system of money allowances to Fellows and Scholars which by no means conduced to frugal living. We may distrust the statement of Casaubon that in 1613 the colleges maintained above 2000 students, 'generally of respectable parentage, and some even of the first nobility;' but he probably spoke from personal experience when he added that 'the Heads of Houses lived handsomely, even splendidly, like men of rank.' In the meantime, the new test of subscription to the Articles, introduced under the Chancellorship of Leicester, had converted the University into an exclusively Church of England institution, and the future battle-ground of Anglican controversy. Thenceforth it developed more and more that special character of its own, at once both worldly and clerical, which it shares with Cambridge alone among the Universities of Europe.

All these influences are faithfully reflected in the domestic chronicles of Merton College. Three at least of its Wardens in the sixteenth century were laymen, one being a Doctor of Medicine, and one a Doctor of Laws. The old scholastic exercises, prescribed by the Statutes, were varied by the performances of comedies, both Latin and English, in the hall

[1] We learn from a College Order of May 4, 1566, that 'strangers' (*peregrini*) then lodged in the college, though it does not appear of what class they were. However, they were directed to provide themselves with other lodgings before the end of June in that year.

About this time we find entries showing that it was the custom for 'the satraps of the city' to appear annually in the college hall, where they sung a song ('cantilenam cantavere') before the society, which rewarded them by 'a voluntary payment' of a noble (6*s.* 8*d.*)

or the Warden's lodgings[1]. Commoners were gradually admitted[2], poor scholars were exempted, by a special rule, from the obligation of waiting upon the Fellows in the buttery. The comfortable rooms of the New Quadrangle, with its spacious common-room—the first established in Oxford—must have contrasted strangely with the monastic austerity of social habits typified by 'Mob-Quadrangle,' and the ancient sets of chambers, depicted on Agas's map, which occupied the site of Savile's new building in Merton Street. Yet the corporate life of the College remained unbroken; and its traditions were as religiously treasured up by generations of Protestant Fellows as they had been in the orthodox age which preceded Wyclif. The brief entries in the College Register, like the monotonous series of cases in the Law Reports, ignoring Civil Wars and Revolutions, betray no change of style or conscious spirit of innovation; the maintenance of that severe discipline for which Merton had long been famed is there attested by frequent sentences of expulsion or suspension; and the original Statutes of 1274, enforced and interpreted by successive Visitors, continued to govern the internal economy of Merton in several of its important branches, until they were finally repealed in the year 1882 by the Statutes of the latest — but perhaps not the last — Oxford University Commission.

[1] For instance, in January and February, 1566-7, two dramatic performances were given in the Warden's lodgings by members of the foundation before the Sub-Warden, Masters, Bachelors, all the inmates of the college, and some strangers, the one being an English comedy, and the other Terence's Eunuchus. As the Warden is not mentioned, we must presume that he was still absent in Spain. Again, in 1568, a play of Plautus was acted in the hall.

[2] A College Order of 1576 requires 'Commoners in the Warden's house' to pay 3*s.* 4*d.* each terminally for 'decrements.'

In the Register there is a curious entry, dated January 7, 1603, authorising a payment of 6*s.* 8*d.* '*tibicinibus, qui ad nos mane ventilant.*'

CHAPTER III.

MERTON COLLEGE UNDER JAMES I AND CHARLES I.

THE seventeenth century, so memorable in the history of the University, also contributes some eventful chapters to a collegiate biography of Merton. When it opened, Queen Elizabeth still occupied the throne; the University was obsequiously loyal, and Merton basked in the sunshine of Court favour under the genial and scholarlike rule of Sir Henry Savile. When it closed, after witnessing the Great Rebellion and the only English Revolution, the Stuart dynasty had come and gone; William III was reigning by a title the very reverse of Divine Right; the University, after being distracted by the Civil War and the Parliamentary Visitation, had become a stronghold of Tory reaction; and Merton College, reverting to its older and more liberal traditions, was a nursery of Whig principles, as they were understood in that age. The contemporary annals preserved in the College Register, still travelling over the gravest historical incidents and the pettiest details of household economy with a sublime official disregard of proportion, enable us to realise in some degree the part taken by Merton in the great national drama, and at the same time remind us how little a corporate society, with an inner life of its own, may be affected by storms which shake the whole fabric of Church and State.

During the last twenty years of Savile's Wardenship, embracing nearly the whole reign of James I, little occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the University or of the College. The former was enfranchised by James I, and Thomas Cromp-

ton of Merton, who had incurred suspicions of heterodoxy under Elizabeth, was elected one of its first burgesses. It was, however, sadly wasting its recovered vigour in barren controversies between the Calvinistic or Puritan school, represented by Lawrence Humphrey and John Prideaux, both Regius Professors of Divinity, and the Arminian or Ritualistic school, headed by the celebrated William Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. It is in 1606 that we first meet with Laud, then a Bachelor of Divinity, in the pages of Anthony Wood, as preaching in St. Mary's Church, and letting fall 'divers passages savouring of Popery,' as the Calvinistic majority thought, for which he was called to account by the Vice-Chancellor. These reactionary doctrines, half-political, half-theological, and affirming at once the Divine Right of kings and the Divine Right of bishops, rapidly gained ground at Oxford, as well as at Court, under the patronage of Prince Charles and Buckingham. When Laud was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, and afterwards of London, his work was eagerly carried on by others. Professor Montagu Burrows, who has thrown valuable light on this period of academical history, tells us that 'Brian Duppa, Sheldon, Stewart, Jeremy Taylor, and several other good, able, and learned men, marched at Oxford alongside of Laud in London, and soon changed the current of Oxford theology.' At last, after Laud was elected Chancellor in 1630, Arminianism became dominant, the most unscrupulous use was made of the king's prerogative in crushing all opposition to it, and preachers of the rival school were either silenced or forced to recant. In the meantime, the University was being repeopled by students, who are said to have numbered 'above 2420' in the year 1611. But their morals are also said to have been gradually corrupted by the progress of luxury, and drinking in taverns, with other disorders, became more and more prevalent. It is remarkable that Anthony Wood dates this degeneracy from the festivities lavished on the visit of James I in 1605, when, as we learn from the Register, the colleges

taxed themselves for his reception at the rate of 1½ per cent. on their ancient rents.

It is probable that Savile was absent at Eton or elsewhere during this visit, for it does not appear that any demand was made by the Royal party on the wonted hospitality of Merton. But it is also possible that he had incurred the displeasure of that pedantic monarch by reason of his refusal to sanction the practice of having a sermon preached every Tuesday by members of each college in rotation, to commemorate the king's escape from a plot laid against his life in Scotland. However, James I was duly welcomed at the gate of Christ Church with a flattering allocution by Isaac Wake, Fellow of Merton, and then Public Orator, who afterwards wrote a description of the royal visit under the complimentary title of 'Rex Platonicus.' Wake is specially mentioned with other Merton scholars among the favourite pupils to whom legacies of books were left by the learned Dr. Rainolds, President of Corpus, and brother of the former Warden of Merton[1]. He was afterwards employed on embassies to Venice, Switzerland, and France. But he was less famous in the University than his brother Fellow, Francis Mason, who obtained the highest reputation as a literary champion of the new Anglican Church. Savile himself was among the selected translators of the four Gospels for the Authorised Version of the New Testament, and the College Register shows that he obtained a loan of books from the library for that purpose. Though he is somewhat disparaged in the late Rector of Lincoln's biography of Casaubon as a patron of learning rather than a learned man, he published under his own name a considerable number of more or less solid works. In one of these, his edition of St. Chrysostom, he was aided by the liberality of the college, which also voted an allowance to John Hales, of Eton, still a Fellow of Merton, for helping the Warden in his researches.

[1] The others were Bryzenden, Yate, Lee, Horne, Blickard, Lane, Hales, Turner, Bridges, Master, Tillie, Allen, Sellar, Talbot. Of these, Bridges and Tillie do not appear in the list of Fellows.

Having rebuilt St. Alban Hall[1] and the north front of Merton College, Savile was now actively engaged in that southward extension of the college buildings, the frontage of which towards Christ Church meadows is, perhaps, the most picturesque façade in Oxford[2]. It does not clearly appear whence the funds were procured for this costly work, and we can only suppose that they had been carefully hoarded up for years before. The first stone was laid on September 13, 1608. On January 28, 1609, the College sanctioned a contract made with John Acroyde, of Halifax, who acted as architect and builder, to execute all the stonework for £570, besides travelling expenses. At the beginning of May, it sanctioned a similar contract with Thomas Holt to execute all the carpenter's work for £430, besides travelling expenses. On October 2, it was agreed to pay Thomas Brome, Lord of the Manor of Headington, £15 annually for the right of cutting stone during the progress of the construction. About Michaelmas 1610 the edifice was completed, and in the following March it was agreed to allow each Fellow occupying rooms on the south side, a sum of £3 towards furnishing them, on condition that he should repay this sum or leave furniture of equal value on vacating his rooms. On August 2 in the following year an extra fee of £20 was voted to Mr. Acroyde, in addition to £20 already granted him, in token of approbation. From the first, this new quadrangle seems to have been assigned to the Senior or Master-Fellows, and must have contributed to deepen the line of separation between them and the other members of the College—the younger Fellows, the Postmasters, and the new order of Commoners.

An entry in the College Register, dated 1607, shows that a

[1] The cost of this was defrayed out of a legacy of £250, left by Mr. Barnam, Alderman of London.

[2] The buildings of Wadham College, erected a few years later, exhibit a remarkable similarity of style, but with this important difference, that, whereas at Merton the windows break the line of the stringcourses, at Wadham the stringcourses are unbroken, and the windows range immediately beneath them.

resolution was then passed to admit twelve 'pensioners,' apparently on the footing of gentlemen commoners, being the sons of knights or gentlemen 'of great name,' each of whom, at his entrance, should present the College with a silver cup. In 1616, however, the College displayed good sense by rescinding this resolution, the admission of pensioners having proved detrimental to college discipline. Meanwhile, the number of Fellows seems to have been generally kept up to twenty-five or upwards, and it is expressly mentioned that two probationers were elected in 1602, after a public examination lasting over three days.

On March 29, in 1613, Merton College was the scene of an imposing ceremonial on the occasion of Thomas Bodley's funeral. This great benefactor of the University, who had been a Fellow of Merton for nearly thirty years, was unwise enough to bequeath £666 13*s.* 4*d.* for the celebration of his own obsequies. Accordingly, some days before the actual interment, his body was brought down from London, and lay in state within Merton College hall, where it was attended by three 'Heralds of Arms,' and visited by all the members of the foundation and college servants. The funeral procession, swelled by a vast body of University dignitaries and students, made a circuit through Christ Church to Carfax, down High Street to St. Mary's Church, and thence to the Divinity School, where an eloquent oration was delivered, back again to St. Mary's, where a funeral sermon was preached, and so home to Merton, where, says Anthony Wood, 'the body was committed to the earth, at the upper end of the Choir, under the North Wall[1].' A funeral dinner, costing £100, expressly bequeathed for the purpose, was then served in the hall to a very large party, including all the Heads of Houses, and 'those who had mourning weeds.'

A few months later in the same year Isaac Casaubon was eagerly profiting by the munificence of Bodley, and devouring

[1] It has since been removed to the west wall of the north transept.

books in the Bodleian Library, having been driven across from Eton to Oxford by Sir Henry Savile in his own carriage, and introduced by him to the University. This library had been originally designed by Bodley, with the assistance of Savile, in 1598[1]; and in 1599, Merton College had contributed to it 'thirty-eight volumes of singular good books in folio,' the value of which is estimated in the College Register at £40 or £50, in addition to a previous gift of seasoned timber. Twenty years later (in 1620) Savile himself made another donation of Greek folios, with a number of MSS., both Greek and Latin. On the other hand, Bodley is believed to have refaced the old shelves of Merton Library with ornamental woodwork, and covered the north wall of it with the existing panels. The college itself appears to have spent nearly £130 in additions to its library in 1599[2]. The Bodleian Library, however, soon dwarfed all college libraries, and, in conjunction with the contemporary edifice of the Schools[3], towards which Merton contributed £20 on two separate occasions, it rapidly became the centre of Oxford studies in the seventeenth century. It was doubtless in honourable emulation of Bodley that Savile was led, in 1619, to found the two Savilian Chairs of Geometry and Astronomy, open to mathematicians from any part of Christendom. At the same time, as we learn from Anthony Wood, he erected 'a private mathematical library for the use of his readers, between the Geometry and Astronomy Schools,' and, as Bodley had left 'chests' of money to be used like a reserve fund by the University and Merton College respectively, so also Savile endowed a 'Mathematical chest' with

[1] In 1480 the central part of what is now called the Bodleian Library, over the Divinity Schools, became the repository of the books given to the University by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and other benefactors. It was, however, rifled of its contents before the end of Edward VI's reign, and had remained empty, with bare walls, for above forty years, until Bodley undertook the restoration of it in 1598. See 'Honours Register of the University of Oxford,' p. 118.

[2] In 1641, a donation of Mr. Allen, an ex-Fellow, was expended on Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabian, and Persian books.

[3] In 1614, and again in 1619, donations of £20 were voted by Merton College towards rebuilding the Schools.

£100[1]. He himself opened the professional teaching in geometry with a short course of lectures, and Briggs, the first Savilian Professor of Geometry, was also engaged to lecture thrice a week on arithmetic in the hall of Merton College, 'being all the time of his abode in Oxford a commoner there[2].' In 1620, Savile directed that a selection should be made out of his own library of such books as might be required for the College Library, and gave these to the College. It may be added that in 1623 the College Library was fitted up with new seats, and enlarged by the annexation of a vacant room at its east end[3].

On the 19th of February, 1622, Savile died, and was succeeded by Nathaniel Brent, a man of a very different type, whom Anthony Wood mentions with little respect, but who seems to have borne himself well through his long and stirring Wardenship of twenty-nine years, broken, however, by a three years' interlude during Charles I's occupation of Oxford. Brent had been elected a Probationer Fellow of Merton in 1594, and had filled the office of Proctor in 1607. He afterwards travelled much, and went through some perilous

[1] These chests served the purpose of a bank, loans being made out of them, on the security of deposits, to needy students.

[2] Briggs had been a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and was the first Professor of Geometry in Gresham College, where he lectured for nineteen years before he was invited by Sir Henry Savile to Oxford, in 1619. He settled at Merton as a fellow-commoner, being incorporated M.A., and lectured there until his death in 1630–1. He was buried with great pomp in the College Chapel, and though his name only was inscribed on his tomb-stone, we find this memorial of him in the College Register—'*vir quidem moribus ac vitâ integerrimus . . . omnium sui temporis eruditissimus.*' A funeral sermon was preached by Hugh Cressy.

John Bainbridge, the first Savilian Professor of Astronomy, also came from Cambridge, where he was educated at Emmanuel College. He entered as a 'Master-Commoner' of Merton, where he lived for some years, and filled the office of Senior Linacre Lecturer. He was also incorporated M.D. of the University. He afterwards lived in a house opposite Merton, and, dying there in 1643, was buried in the chapel, near Briggs's grave, and with similar honours. His monumental tablet is still to be seen on the north wall of the choir, being the only one remaining there.

[3] The account taken on the accession of Brent to the Wardenship in 1622 shows that the College then possessed £1557 9*s.* 3*d.* in the *cista jocalium*, and £47 in the hands of the Bursar,—£1604 9*s.* 3*d.* in all, being more than four times as much as it possessed on the accession of Savile.

adventures in Italy while he was collecting records of the Council of Trent, which he subsequently translated. He was Commissary and Vicar-General to Archbishop Abbott, Laud's great rival, whose niece he married, and was also Judge of the Prerogative Court. When he became Warden, the royal power was virtually in the hands of Prince Charles and Buckingham, under whose patronage the fortunes of Laud were in the ascendant. Four years later, in 1625, James I died, and the plague raged so fiercely in London that Charles I's first Parliament had to be held at Oxford, and all the colleges and halls received an order from the Privy Council directing them to clear their rooms for the reception of the Lords and Commons. Accordingly all the Bachelors and Postmasters of Merton were sent into the country by a summary College order[1]. The plague, however, followed the Parliament to Oxford, and Michaelmas Term had to be postponed until November 9th. The Masters of Arts and servants who remained during the Long Vacation in Merton were prohibited by another College order from venturing outside the gate without special leave.

It was not long before Charles I, notwithstanding the murder of Buckingham, fell under the influence of those evil counsels which at last brought about the Great Rebellion. Like his predecessors, however, he was most anxious to conciliate the Universities, and in 1629 paid a solemn visit to Oxford, entering it, as usual, from Woodstock. On August 23rd, the Doctors and Proctors went out thither to salute the King, and though Brent could scarcely have been in favour with Laud, he was selected for the honour of knighthood. On the following day, the French and Dutch ambassadors, with a number of the nobility, were received at Merton by Sir Nathaniel Brent and the Fellows, complimented in the inevitable oration, and 'entertained with a very sumptuous banquet in the College Gallery[2].' Again, on August 27th,

[1] The Master-Fellows were directed to vacate their rooms, and retire into the 'Bachelor's Court,'—doubtless, Mob-quadrangle.

[2] The College Gallery cannot be identified with certainty, but probably occupied

according to Anthony Wood's account, 'The King, Queen, and the retinew went to Merton College, and, being received by the Warden and the Society at the common gate (Mr. James Marshe of that house then speeching it before them), were conducted into the gallery before-mentioned, where they were all royally entertained with a rich banquet at the college charges in honour of their newly knighted Warden.' The King was then shown over the College, of which he was destined to see so much at a later epoch of his reign[1]. Next year (1630) Archbishop Laud, that perfect model of a college don, in the sense now happily obsolete, was elected Chancellor of the University by a small majority against Philip, Earl of Pembroke. He lost no time in commencing that campaign against laxity of discipline and doctrine which left a permanent mark on the University. Not the least of his reforms was the new proctorial cycle, which, as Professor Burrows remarks, 'put an end to a perennial source of disturbance.' This cycle, embracing a period of twenty-three years, was devised by Peter Turner, of Merton, and the rank of Merton among colleges may be inferred from the fact that while six turns were assigned to Christ Church within this period, five to Magdalen, and four to New College, three were assigned to Merton, All Souls, Exeter, Brasenose, St. John's, and Wadham respectively, and two or one to each of the rest. Peter Turner seems to have been a special confidant of Laud, since he is not only mentioned by Anthony Wood as a reputed Arminian, together with his brother Fellows, Richard Corbet and James Marsh, but also as one who kept up a correspondence with the Chancellor about University matters. Moreover, he was among those, including Thomas French, sometime Fellow of Merton, who helped to frame the Laudian or Caroline Statutes, issued by royal authority in 1636. These

most of the upper storey of the present Warden's house, together with the adjoining set of rooms which contains the oriel window at the south-east angle of the College.

[1] These receptions are briefly mentioned in the College Register.

statutes, which remained in force within living memory, were a monument of Laud's disciplinarian activity. The spirit in which they were conceived may be inferred from the fact that Puritans and anti-Arminians were jealously excluded from co-operation in drawing them up, as well as from the insertion of certain passages which gave natural offence to men of that school. Still, they were mostly salutary in themselves, and apparently effected some improvement both in academical manners and in academical administration[1]. This was also the alleged object of the 'Caroline Charter' granted to the University in 1635, under which the jurisdiction of the University over its own members was confirmed and strengthened[2].

In 1636 Charles I again visited Oxford in state as Laud's guest, and remained for three days; but the glory of entertaining him was chiefly monopolised by Christ Church and St. John's, the Chancellor's own college. Merton probably took no active part in the reception, but contributed £20, or 5 per cent. on its ancient rent of £400, towards the expense of entertaining the Court, which afterwards demanded a further contribution of £5[3]. On this occasion the Elector Palatine and his younger brother, the celebrated Prince Rupert, were presented by Sir Nathaniel Brent for their M.A. degrees. It is some proof of the respect in which Brent was held that, in 1640, Prideaux, the Rector of Exeter, and Hood, the Rector of Lincoln, voted, though without success, for his election as burgess for the University.

A very welcome light is thrown upon the internal life of Merton in the reign of Charles I by the Ordinances of Archbishop Laud, dated May 9, 1640. We have already noticed

[1] Anthony Wood states that Laud's efforts were directed to abate the habit of drinking in colleges and halls, which had been increased by the success of the Proctors in hunting scholars out of alehouses and taverns.

[2] It was also under Laud (1638) that examinations were instituted for the B.A. and M.A. degrees, including far more subjects than are now required of passmen.

[3] In 1632 Merton undertook to contribute £20 annually for three years towards rebuilding St. Paul's Cathedral.

frequent interventions of former Archbishops, as Visitors of the College, during the religious troubles of the previous century, those of Cranmer and Matthew Parker being specially memorable. But the interferences of Laud, as might be expected, were far more frequent and minute, and in one instance he went so far as to appoint a Sub-Warden by his own authority. In another case, he took upon himself to recommend, or rather to dictate, the irregular readmission of Henry Jacob, who had disappeared from the College for years, in the almost forgotten capacity of 'Grammar Master.' In this mandatory letter, dated May 18, 1636, he laid down various conditions for the appointment, and concluded in the following characteristic sentences: 'I thinke it sufficient barely to expresse my desires in this businesse, not doubtinge but you will readily comply with them as beinge grounded upon y^e^ plaine letter of your Statutes, whereof otherwise, were it ambiguous, you knowe your Patrone hath y^e^ power of interpretinge, and of exactinge obedience in conformity to his interpretation. I thinke it fitt also that a copy of this my letter be entred into your Register, whereby it may appeare unto posterity upon what grounds both you and I proceeded in this businesse.'

On March 30, 1638, the Archbishop issued a series of articles, in the form of questions, to be answered by the Warden and Fellows, at a formal Visitation which he instituted in that year. Nothing can be more inquisitorial than these interrogatories, which enter into every detail of college life. The Visitation was conducted by the Bishop of Oxford, Sheldon, Warden of All Souls, and two other Commissioners, and resulted in the elaborate code of Ordinances now known as Archbishop Laud's. These Ordinances are a revised and enlarged edition of directions issued by the Archbishop himself during the course of the inquiry, and preserved in the College Register. Other directions, relating to personal or occasional matters, were issued on the spot by the Visitors. One of the articles of charge preferred against Laud on his

trial alleged that his Visitors at Merton had enjoined the Fellows and Scholars to bow to the Lord's table, and had censured Messrs Cheynel and Corbet for not doing so. A letter from Laud to Fisher, then Sub-Warden of Merton, and dated May 24, 1638, requires the College to obey all the interlocutory orders of the Commissioners, and fixes October 2 as the day on which the Archbishop himself will 'give hearing to the whole businesse, and thereupon do as to justice shall appertain.' Another letter, from Laud to Sir Nathaniel Brent, dated July 20, 1638, is worthy of full quotation, as a choice specimen of his style.

To Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton.

'SIR,

'I have received your letters of July 11, but being sent by the Wednesday carrier, they came so late to Croydon, that I could not give answer till now. And now I read in these letters a promise of punctual obedience to mine, but see the contrary. For first you tell me, you found two letters of mine at the College, and that, on Wednesday last, you read them both to the Fellows, and gave order that they should be written into your Register book. But my letters required so much of the Sub-Warden before your coming; and I will have an account of him at Michaelmas, why it was not done accordingly. For if you be not resident at the College at any time, the Sub-Warden, whoever he be, shall not make bold with my commands at his pleasure, to do them or leave them undone, till your return.

'In the next place, you say that the time of your audit is mistaken in my letters. If it be, the matter is not great, so that at your audit, whenever it is, all those things be done which my letters require, and of which I shall call for an account.

'Thirdly, you write that you have nominated three of your senior Fellows to attend me at Lambeth the second of October next; and, withal, that they are three fitter men

than the three which were named before at a meeting of the Fellows. But my Visitors here think not so, nor I neither. For they which made no complaint themselves, but thought all was well, and perhaps some of them had complaints made against themselves, cannot be held fit to be prosecutors of other men's complaints, which, perhaps, they thoroughly understand not. But, howsoever, they other three were first named, and at a meeting commanded by me, and therefore they three shall stand; yet with this indifferency, that they three which are now named, or any other, shall have liberty to come if they please. And, further, I commanded the registering of that Act of the choice of those three as well as the registering of my letters; which yet (it seems) your Sub-Warden either refused or neglected to do. But I shall call him to an account for this, as well as for other things, at Michaelmas; and in the meantime I require this of you, that you see that Act registered, of the choice of the former three.

'For the choice of your officers, perhaps you have made them according to the words of your statute, and as custom hath been in that house for these forty years, which is but your own time and Sir Henry Savile's, if all that. But I am sure 'tis against the true meaning of your statute, and a very ill custom for the College, that any one man should be Sub-Warden so many years together, and live among his Fellows like another Head of a College in your absence. And therefore for this I refer myself to my former letters, and require you that there be not only a new choice, but also that a new man be chosen yearly as I have directed; and that another be now chosen at your next election, which, I take it, is at the beginning of August. And then for other things, I shall after settle them according to your Statutes, and that justice which belongs to a Visitor. So for the present I leave you, etc. etc.

'This I would have you and the Fellows further know, that whosoever come to prosecute the complaints, shall not thereby

have any testimony of their own taken off, by the putting of this thankless office upon them.'

Endorsed—

'A Copie of my Lers to y^e^ Warden of Mert. Coll. sent July 20, 1638, upon their Noiacon of 3 new men to prosecute y^e^ complaints, etc. Crosse to their former Act, and my comands.'

At last, the enquiry was completed. The Ordinances founded on the Commissioners' report sufficiently disclose the searching nature of their proceedings, and purport to regulate almost every detail of collegiate discipline and management. Not only are all the members of the foundation to attend the chapel-services in surplices and hoods on all Sundays and feast-days, but all Masters of less than two years' standing, as well as all Bachelors and Scholars, are to attend every morning between five and six o'clock. It is added that, 'Your brethren of St. Alban Hall shall not be admitted into the choir[1],' or allowed to wear surplices and hoods. All the Doctors and Masters above two years' standing are to engage in theological disputations once a week, if there are eight in residence; otherwise, once a fortnight, or at least twice a term. Disputations in Arts are to be held, apparently, every day for two hours, beginning before seven o'clock. These disputations had always been a characteristic feature of Merton discipline; but it is equally characteristic of Merton traditions that a dispensation is allowed to 'such Doctors or Masters as may be absent for the purpose of travel, or in the discharge of duties in the families of the nobility or other grandees.' An instance of such absence on leave had occurred in 1618, when the great scholar, John Hales, of Merton, accompanied George Carleton, once a Fellow of Merton, but then Bishop of Llandaff, on a deputation from James I to the Synod of Dort. A second instance of a similar kind is

[1] In 1626, they had been permitted, by a special order, to attend service in the ante-chapel.

supplied by the case of Griffin Hyggs, another Fellow of Merton, who had been sent by Charles I to the Hague in 1627, to be Chaplain to his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

The Ordinances proceed to enjoin that no Fellow is to absent himself from the College for more than four months in the year, except for grave reasons to be approved by the Warden, and the dates of their departure and return are to be carefully noted in a book. Masters of Arts are not to hold converse with Bachelors and Scholars, except in the chapel or hall. The gates of the College are to be closed at half-past nine and the keys given to the Warden, and none are to sleep in Oxford outside the college walls[1]. All are to breakfast and dine in the hall, carefully separated according to their degrees[2]. Leases are always to be made for twenty-one years, and fines on leases are to be divided, so that half may be appropriated to the Warden and Fellows, and half to 'Domus,' or the common uses of the College—a principle of division constantly maintained until leases began to be run out, about the year 1850. There are never to be more than twenty-four Fellows, and neither more than five nor less than three are to be elected at the same time. Fellows accepting college benefices, or possessing a private income exceeding that of a Fellowship, are to vacate their Fellowships after a year of grace. The weekly, monthly, and yearly accounts are to be kept with strict accuracy. The Sub-Wardenship is to be held for a year only, so that all may become acquainted with college business. All the college documents are to be deposited in the Treasury and properly catalogued. Rents are to be paid at once into 'the public chest,' henceforth to be furnished with two locks, and not to be confounded with Bodley's chest, still existing, with three locks, in minute accordance with his will. All Fellows and Scholars are to walk about in a modest, decent, and clerical

[1] In this year (1640) 'town and gown rows' are said to have been frequent, and difficulty was found in inducing the Mayor to co-operate with the Proctors.

[2] A college order of 1627 gave 'Postmasters' the privilege of coming into hall to supper at the same time with the Fellows.

garb of black or grey, wearing neither slashed dresses nor wide collars, nor boots under their robes, and never curling their hair. All conversation within the College is to be in Latin. Only table beer, and no strong ale, is to be used on ordinary occasions [1]—a rule which Sir Henry Savile had vainly striven to enforce. The practice of keeping a furnished house in London for the use of the Warden and Fellows is to be abandoned, and two chambers only are to be retained for that purpose [2]. In the election of Fellows, a *cæteris paribus* preference is always to be given to Scholars of the college, and any Fellow who receives either reward or promise for promoting the election of any candidate to a Scholarship is to lose his Fellowship at once [3]. Finally, these injunctions of the Visitor, together with the Founder's statutes, are to be publicly read before all the Fellows and Scholars thrice a year in the hall, and three copies are to be made, one to be in the custody of the Warden, one in that of the Sub-Warden, and one to be kept chained in the College Library. In the attestation clause, Sir Nathaniel Brent, one of the witnesses, is described as the Archbishop's Vicar-General and Municipal Official. A remarkable entry in the College Register, of Nov. 6, 1641, joyfully records the fact that on that day the Visitation of

[1] Mr. Percival translates *potus simplex* 'single cups,' as opposed to 'double flagons.' It is clear however, from other passages, that it was table beer, as opposed to 'cerevisia duplex,' or strong ale. In 1577, under Warden Bickley, a college order had been made 'ut nullus habeat allam, quam appellant, aut duplicem birriam, sive in promptuario, sive alibi in Collegio, nisi in totum pro utrâvis solvat;' and again, in 1585, that only 'simplex potus,' and no 'duplex birria,' should be served in the buttery.

[2] This practice seems to have been first sanctioned by a college order in 1626, when it was agreed to hire and furnish a house in Warwick Street.

[3] In 1631, when the Queen had recommended a candidate for a Fellowship, and his father pressed his claims on the strength thereof, a very spirited reply was made by the college. An entry in the College Register dated January 8th, 1639, states that three Probationers were elected on that day, 'post accuratum et sincerum examen candidatorum.' On June 21st, 1642, four Probationer Fellows were elected, against the protest of Mr. Peter Turner, whose opinion was adopted by the College on April 22nd, 1643, when it refused to admit these Probationers as actual Fellows, chiefly because the corporate revenues did not admit of any further charge. The King afterwards enjoined the College to admit two, Woods and Lydall, and it was agreed to do so, upon certain conditions, at the following Michaelmas.

Merton, which had lasted three years and a half, and which threatened to rival the siege of Troy, was brought to an end by Divine Providence, 'being the most unjust of Visitations, and worse than the worst of all.'

On the 25th of June in this year (1641) Laud had resigned the Chancellorship, and by the summer of 1642 the Civil War had really commenced, though the battle of Edgehill was not fought until October[1]. On July 7, the king, then at York, addressed a requisition to Prideaux, as Vice-Chancellor, inviting the colleges to contribute money for his service, by way of loan at 8 per cent. interest. Convocation immediately voted away all the reserve funds in Savile's, Bodley's, and the University chests. A letter from the king, dated from Beverley, on July 18, shows that a large subsidy had already reached him, though in the meantime (July 12) Parliament had issued an order declaring the requisition illegal, and directing guard and watch to be set on all highways about Oxford. On Sept. 1, a troop of Royalist horse, under Sir John Byron, entered the City, but left it on Sept. 10, at the approach of a superior Parliamentary force. During this short occupation, Dr. Peter Turner, Fellow of Merton and Savilian Professor of Geometry, acted on a Delegacy of thirty members for provisioning the Royal troops, in support of whom a body of graduates and students was enrolled and regularly drilled in the Park. On the departure of Sir John Byron, Turner accompanied him, and, being captured in a skirmish near Stow-in-the-Wold, was brought to Banbury and committed to Northampton Gaol. When a Parliamentary force occupied the City on Sept. 12[2],

[1] On January 17th, 1642, letters from the King to the University '*de Reipublicæ negotiis*' were publicly read to the Fellows by the Warden. On July 8th in the same year declarations sent down by the Parliament were read out in like manner by the Sub-Warden Greaves, who had been elected on March 24th, under a special mandate of the King to the five Senior Fellows, in consequence of the prolonged absence of the Warden and the former Sub-Warden, Corbet.

It is remarkable that, so far back as August 1641, the College had ordered twelve muskets and as many spears to be purchased, '*bello ingruente*,' for the purpose of repelling any roving soldiers who might break in for the sake of plunder.

[2] This was done in consequence of overtures made by the City to the com-

Colonel Goodwin, their commander, and other officers, were quartered at Merton, while their horses were turned out in Christ Church meadow. On September 15, Merton, with other 'Southern' colleges, was disarmed and searched for plate by Lord Say, the new Parliamentary Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, but Christ Church seems to have been the only college actually robbed of plate on that occasion.

On the 29th of October, 1642, the King entered Oxford, after the battle of Edgehill, and thenceforward Oxford became the head-quarters of the Royal army, as well as the seat of the Royal Government. Charles I himself always lodged at Christ Church with the princes, 'except Rupert and Maurice,' and there kept his Court, often going forth on expeditions, but falling back on Oxford. Fortifications were now pushed on in earnest, one work extending from Grandpont, or Folly Bridge, across Christ Church meadow, in front of Merton. Arms taken away from the citizens suspected of sympathy with the enemy were stored in New College tower and cloister, now converted into a magazine. Volunteer corps of students, already formed and trained in New College quadrangle, were now regularly employed on guard; and it was said that, in 1646, twenty out of one hundred students of Christ Church were officers in the king's army.

On Jan. 10, 1643, the King's letters were sent to all colleges and halls, demanding their plate to be melted down for his service, and all are stated to have complied, except New Inn Hall, which accordingly was turned into a royal mint. Soon afterwards most housekeepers were obliged to do likewise, and Anthony Wood particularly mentions that even the plate given him by his godfathers and godmothers shared the same fate. On January 16, £300 more was 'borrowed' from the University Chest. There seems to be no entry in the Merton Register expressly directing the college plate to be given up for the King's use, but it is certain that it was given up, and

manders of the Parliamentary forces at Aylesbury. Dr. Pinke, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, was seized and imprisoned on behalf of the Parliament.

two of the Fellows afterwards mutually accused each other of having thus misappropriated the college property. Indeed, an exact account of the plate contributed by the various colleges of Oxford, as well as by the gentry of the county, given in the Tanner MSS., is preserved in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*. Magdalen heads the list with 296 lbs. 6 oz.; All Souls follows with 253 lbs.; Exeter with 246 lbs.; and the next largest quotas are furnished by Queen's, Trinity, and Christ Church. Merton sent in between 79 lbs. and 80 lbs., being about the average amount contributed by the remaining colleges, while 701 lbs. were sent in by six country gentlemen, one of whom, Sir Peter Wick, contributed as much as 360 lbs. The mint was at New Inn Hall, which alone contributed no plate. It appears from the Archives of All Souls that these gifts of plate were treated as loans, to be repaid at a fixed rate per oz., but it is, perhaps, needless to say that no such repayment ever took effect[1]. On June 14, 1643, another levy of £2,000 was made upon the University and City respectively. The University raised its quota by taxing each college, not excluding the servants; and the City, in an unwonted fit of loyalty, added another £500,

[1] The letter to All Souls College is dated Jan. 6, 1643, and requests the college to *lend* the king their plate, for which repayment is to be made at the rate of 5*s*. per oz. for white plate, and 5*s*. 6*d*. for silver-gilt plate.

A very full account of the contributions in money and plate made by the various Oxford Colleges for the King's use is contained in Professor Burrows' 'Worthies of All Souls,' pp. 165–174. He believes the contributions made in July 1642 to have been chiefly, if not wholly, in money, and shows that All Souls, in particular, then sent money, and not plate. The Christ Church and University College plate was, in his opinion, mostly seized by Lord Say later in the year. He cites the King's letter of Jan. 6, 1642–3, at full length, and supposes the Colleges which do not appear in the Tanner MSS. list to have dropped out by accident, perhaps because their plate was sent in on a different day. Wadham, for instance, 'is known to have contributed 123 lb. 5 oz. and 15 dwt. of plate.' Professor Burrows claims for All Souls the peculiar credit of having sent in the whole of its plate, but there is every reason to believe that Merton did likewise, for no silver presented at an earlier date is still in the possession of the College. Moreover, it is remarkable that the recorded weight of the plate sent in for the King's use (79 lb. 11 oz. 10 dwt.) tallies almost exactly with that of the plate set down in the inventory taken on the accession of Savile in 1586. In the inventory taken on Brent's accession the weights of the several pieces are not given.

about the assessment of which a dispute afterwards arose. At last, in October 1643, the Heads of Houses agreed that £40 should be raised weekly by the University during the next twenty weeks, by a levy on colleges and halls, in consideration of the scholars being exempted from all further contributions towards new fortifications. An entry in the College Register, dated August 4, 1643, informs us that, since the whole society was impoverished by the non-payment of rents[1], and many of the Fellows were driven to live in the country or abroad, the Sub-Warden and those who remained at home resolved that, as soon as peace should be restored, the absent members should receive an equal share of their customary allowances with their resident brethren[2]. As for University studies and discipline, they were almost suspended, and the strange pictures of Oxford during the King's residence, preserved in the pages of 'John Inglesant,' are supported by the evidence of Anthony Wood and other contemporary authors.

It was not until July 13, 1643, that Queen Henrietta Maria joined the king at Oxford. The King went out to meet her, and she was received with great ceremony at Christ Church, whence 'she was conducted by the King to Merton College, by a back way made for that purpose, through one of the canons' gardens, another garden belonging to Christ Church College, and then through Merton College Grove.' On her arrival, the Public Orator did not fail to salute her with the address which royalty was never spared, and various dignitaries were presented to her. She was lodged in the Warden's house, occupying at intervals for nearly three years the room still known as 'The Queen's Room' and the drawing-room adjoining. The King was constantly there, probably finding Merton

[1] A curious little piece of economy is mentioned in the Register, under the date September 14, 1640, when it was ordered that coal should be thenceforth burned, by way of experiment, instead of wood, the price of which had greatly risen.

[2] In Feb. 1643 an order was made by the House of Commons that Fellows of colleges prevented by the war from 'repairing to their Fellowships' should not be damnified by their absence.

a pleasant retreat from the bustle of Christ Church, and doubtless many interesting reunions took place there, of which history is silent. It is particularly remarked by Anthony Wood that during the Queen's stay in Merton there were divers marriages, christenings, and burials in the chapel, of which all record has been lost, as the private register in which the chaplain had noted them was stolen out of his room when Oxford was finally surrendered to Fairfax. Meanwhile the city was scourged by a great plague in 1643, followed by a great fire in 1644, which ravaged the quarter west of St. Aldate's and the Cornmarket; but probably these calamities had little effect on the spirits of the Cavalier officers.

Unhappily, the general history of Oxford during this memorable period is but very briefly told by Anthony Wood, then a boy, who had been sent out of harm's way to Thame, and much remains to invite the researches of some modern antiquary. The domestic annals of Merton are no less meagre, but the Register contains an interesting account of the proceedings before and on the election of the illustrious Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood, to the Wardenship of Merton. On the 27th of January, 1645, letters were received from the King, then lodged at Christ Church, reciting the fact of Sir Nathaniel Brent having absented himself for nearly three years, having adhered to the rebels, and having accepted the office of Judge Marshal in their ranks, to which might have been added that he had actually signed the Covenant. We learn from the articles afterwards exhibited against Dr. John Greaves, then a Fellow of the College and Savilian Professor of Astronomy, that he was the person who drew up the petition against the Warden, and 'inveigled some unwary younge men to subscribe to it.' The King's letters accordingly pronounce the deposition of Brent, and direct the seven senior Fellows to present three persons as eligible to be his successor, out of whom the King would choose one. The royal mandate was obeyed, but there were some irregularities in the consequent election, against which Peter Turner protested, and

resigned his Fellowship on his protest being overruled by Lord Hertford, who had succeeded the Earl of Pembroke as Chancellor in October, 1643. However, five out of the seven seniors, including the Sub-Warden, placed Harvey first on their lists, and the king lost no time in nominating him. Harvey was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, but had been incorporated at Oxford after the battle of Edgehill. He was solemnly admitted Warden, according to the ancient custom on the 9th of April, and two days later addressed the Fellows in a somewhat Pharisaical speech, assuring them that, unlike some of his predecessors, he assumed office with no desire of enriching himself, but rather of advancing the interests of the College. His reign at Merton lasted but a single year, and, under such conditions, could not leave any mark on the corporate life of the College, then occupied in force by the Court and partially converted into officers' barracks. Indeed, it is recorded in the Register that on August 1, 1645, the College meeting was held in the library, neither the hall nor the Warden's lodgings being then available for the purpose. Meanwhile, on May 22, after various feints against the city, Oxford was invested by Fairfax, and vainly besieged for fifteen days. On the 14th of June, however, the royal cause was ruined at Naseby; and on the 27th of November a supply of provisions was laid in by the College against another expected siege. On the 28th of December the King ordered special forms of prayer to be used in the Chapel on Wednesdays and Fridays, 'during these bad times.' On the 24th of the following March we find the College giving a bond for £94 on account of provisions, which it evidently had not the ready money to purchase. In the spring of 1646 Fairfax regularly laid siege to Oxford, and on June 24 it was surrendered on very honourable terms, the garrison marching out over Shotover, 3,000 strong. In the Treaty of Surrender the rights and privileges of the University and colleges were expressly reserved, but with a distinct proviso intimating that a thorough reform was intended by the Parliament.

Harvey must now have retired from the Wardenship, and Brent must have resumed office, though no minute of either event is preserved in the College Register. We find, however, that in September, 1648, Brent rendered accounts, as Warden, for the four years from 1642 to 1646. In the beginning of February, 1647, the Earl of Pembroke again became Chancellor, in the place of the Marquis of Hertford, and was conducted to Merton after his installation. Anthony Wood describes, in language which has often been quoted, the utter confusion in which the past three years had left the University—the colleges impoverished, lectures almost abandoned, many of the students dispersed, and others quite demoralised—'in a word, scarce the face of an University left, all things being out of order and disturbed.' This account is confirmed by a striking entry in the College Register, under the date of October 19, 1646. It is here stated that by the Divine goodness the Civil War had at last been stayed, and the Warden (Brent), with most of the Fellows, had returned, but that as there were no Bachelors, hardly any Scholars, and few Masters, it was decided to elect but one Bursar and one Dean. It is added that as the hall still lay 'situ et ruinis squalida,' the college meeting was held in the Warden's lodgings. At the same meeting two Fellows of Merton—Fowle and Lovejoy—were suspended for having borne arms against the Parliament.

Nevertheless, there was vigour enough in the University to organise an effective resistance to the Parliamentary Visitation already known to be impending, but first initiated by an Ordinance issued on May 1, 1647. Professor Montagu Burrows, in his exhaustive monograph on this Visitation, has depicted the anarchy which prevailed in the interval, and the attempt made by Parliament, then dominated by Presbyterians, to convert the academical mind through Presbyterian discourses. Considering that Merton had been so long the Queen's abode, it is somewhat remarkable that it should have produced three out of the seven Presbyterian ministers commissioned for this service, with power to preach in any Oxford

church—Edward Reynolds, Francis Cheynell, and Edward Corbet. Reynolds, the most eminent of the three, had always been an anti-Arminian, and was among the most celebrated preachers of his time. He took the 'Covenant,' but afterwards refused the 'Engagement,' pledging the signatories to a Government without a King or House of Lords, thus forfeiting the Deanery of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellorship, to which he was promoted under the Commonwealth. He lived, however, to be Warden of Merton and Bishop of Norwich. Cheynell was a fiery spirit—reputed to be *Malleus Hereticorum*—among the Presbyterians, and at this very time held a fierce disputation with one Erbury, of Brasenose, an Independent army chaplain, in a meeting-house opposite to Merton[1]. Corbet was a man of comparatively moderate opinions, and earned a good word from Anthony Wood himself for modesty and scholarship, since he resigned the Public Oratorship and a canonry at Christ Church rather than sign the Engagement.

When the Parliamentary Visitation, or Commission, as we should call it, was issued in 1647, 'for the due correction of offences, abuses, and disorders' in the University of Oxford, all these men were appointed Visitors. The President of the Commission was Sir Nathaniel Brent himself, who had gradually become a strong Presbyterian, and whom Anthony Wood accuses of having taken down the rich hangings over the high altar to adorn his own bedroom, though it is shown by the College Register that this was done by express order of the College after the curtains had been thrown aside as lumber. The Visitors usually sat in the dining-room of the Warden's house, though sometimes in Cheynell's rooms, when he appears to have acted as chairman in Brent's absence. Thus Merton again became the centre of an academical revolution—this time conducted by the leading men on its own governing body, and yet, like the Reformation and the Civil War, leaving

[1] Anthony Wood states that in this very house the Common Prayer was afterwards 'set up' in 1648.

but little trace on its domestic chronicle. In spite of the Commission, the quiet stream of college life seems to have resumed its natural channel after the cessation of hostilities and the return of Sir Nathaniel Brent. Indeed, the College Register for the academical year beginning in August, 1647, differs in few material particulars from the College Register during the least troubled period. We have the election, in due course, of the Sub-Warden, the Deans, the Bursars, the Principal of the Postmasters, the Readers in Grammar and in Greek, and the keepers of Read's and Bodley's chests. All the officers render their accounts as usual, and various decrees are passed for the payment of dividends in arrear. Presentations are duly made to livings, service is celebrated quarterly in memory of the founder, the statutes are read according to ancient usage, and a 'scrutiny' is held, according to a comparatively modern rule, which limited it to three questions—concerning the conduct of the servants, concerning the number of Postmasters, and concerning the election of a garden-master. The Sub-Warden is granted special leave of absence on two occasions, in order to prosecute the financial interests of the College in London, with the Warden's assistance. A sum of £20 is voted to a Fellow travelling in Italy, probably in lieu of his dividend. The Sub-Warden and the itinerant Bursar are commissioned to make the customary progress for the purpose of visiting the college estates.

None of these entries betoken any consciousness of the acute crisis through which, not the College only, but the University, the Church, and the State were then passing. Not a word is said of Sir Nathaniel Brent having been appointed President of the Visitors, or of the Visitation having been issued at all. Indeed, political reticence is carried so far that, although we are told of the Earl of Pembroke's reception on April 11, 1648, and of his residence in the College for three days, the purpose of his visit is studiously concealed, and the only incident of his arrival thought worthy of mention is the fact of the mayor and aldermen having been admitted

into the College with all their beadles and tipstaves, by permission of the Warden and Fellows, but with an express proviso that it should not be drawn into a precedent. The important events here ignored, as well as the subsequent proceedings of the Parliamentary Visitors in relation to Merton, are only to be learned from external sources. Happily, the public records of the Visitation enable us to fill up many blank spaces in the College Register, while the personal reminiscences of Anthony Wood supply copious materials for the next chapter of Merton history, embracing the period of the Commonwealth and the Restoration.

CHAPTER IV.

MERTON COLLEGE UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE RESTORED MONARCHY.

IT was not until May 1, 1647—nearly a year after the surrender of Oxford to Fairfax—that a solemn Visitation of the University was ordered by 'the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.' It was to embrace the colleges and halls, as well as the University, and its object was stated to be 'the due correction of offences, abuses, and disorders, especially of late times, committed there.' The President was Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton, and, of his twenty-three colleagues, ten were clergymen and thirteen laymen, including the celebrated Prynne. Among the Commissioners, or 'Visitors,' were the same three Merton Fellows—Edward Reynolds, Francis Cheynell, and Edward Corbet—who had already been deputed to advocate Presbyterian doctrines from the pulpit. The Visitors were instructed to enquire by oath concerning those who neglected to take the Solemn League and Covenant and the Negative Oath, those who taught obnoxious doctrines, and those who had borne arms against the Parliament. By the same ordinance a standing committee of Lords and Commons was appointed to receive reports and hear appeals from the Visitors. The proceedings were opened by a citation, issued on May 15, 1647, calling upon the University to appear before the Visitors in Convocation on June 4. Accordingly, on June 3 the great gates of Merton were thrown open to admit them, but their arrival was delayed by various causes, and their action suspended for three months. During that interval the University

appointed a Delegacy to conduct its defence against the Visitation, which drew up a very able statement of reasons for not submitting to the new tests[1]. Nicholas Howson, of Merton, was a member of this Delegacy. In the meantime, however, Parliament had armed the Visitors with fresh powers, enabling them to administer the Solemn League and Covenant, with the Negative Oath, to imprison those who should refuse to produce books, and to pass definitive sentences of expulsion. This arbitrary authority was conferred upon them in the name of the king, himself a prisoner in the hands of the Parliament.

The subsequent progress of the Visitation is fully detailed in the admirable introduction to Professor Burrows's 'Visitors' Register.' How it was actively carried on by the first set of Visitors from March 1648 to April 1652, in spite of a passive but determined resistance from a majority in the University; how these were superseded on June 15, 1652, by a second set, including some of the first set, but also including a stronger representation of the Independents; how a third set, again including some of the first, was appointed under Cromwell in 1654; how this government of Oxford by commissioners, having lasted ten years, 'practically collapsed and disappeared' after the Protector's death; and how little trace it left, after all, on University life or institutions—all these aspects of the great Visitation are there brought out with singular clearness and impartiality, but must here be treated in the barest outline. We are specially concerned with the Visitors, only so far as their acts affected Merton, the support of which Professor Burrows considers to have been of vital importance, since it was the only college except Lincoln which co-operated heartily from the very first with the Parliament and the Visitors. To quote his words—'Their President was its Warden; the high offices which he had held in the State had given him influence in the college; the ablest men of the

[1] After the Restoration, the merit of this *judicium de solenni fœderatione* was formally recognised by Parliament.

new government were drawn from the ranks of its Fellows; and a large proportion of those members of the college who were cited very naturally gave in their submission. Merton was thus one of the few colleges which obtained self-government at an early date. Besides this, it was the only one of the six ancient foundations, preceding New College, which, by the ample income of its Warden[1] and the magnitude of the original benefaction, had for a long period taken rank as a great college, the other five having in early times been comparatively feeble; and it had already a great mediæval history, surrounding the college with the halo of world-renowned names. Even at this time, there were few more distinguished men of science than Greaves and Turner.'

On the 30th of September 1647 the Visitors proceeded to nominate delegates for each college and hall 'to enquire into the behaviour of all Governours, Professors, Officers, and Members.' For most colleges two or three were thought sufficient, but no less than four Merton Fellows were designated, besides those already serving on the Visitation,—viz. Messrs. Copley, Button, Whistler, and Martyn. Of these, Ralph Button is the only one who specially claims our attention. He had been a favourite pupil of Prideaux at Exeter, but was elected Fellow of Merton in 1633, and was a noted Tutor there when the Civil War broke out, and he quitted Oxford, being unwilling to bear arms for the king. He then resided in London as Professor of Geometry at Gresham College. After the war he returned, and had resumed his tutorship when he was thus enlisted by the Visitors. On the 18th of February 1648, when the Committee of Parliament, hitherto vacillating, decided to support the Visitors in earnest, one of their first steps was to appoint Button Junior Proctor, at the same time making

[1] A table preserved in Gutch's 'Collectanea Curiosa,' and prefixed to a catalogue of the scholars and students in the University for the year 1612, states the income of the Wardenship at 200*l.* a year. The same table states the income of the Deanery of Christ Church at 300*l.*, and that of the Wardenship of New College and Presidentship of Magdalen at 250*l.*, all the other Headships being of less value. The whole revenue of Merton College is estimated at 1200*l.*

Reynolds Vice-Chancellor; after which Button also became Public Orator and Canon of Christ Church. But Merton was not unrepresented among the opponents of the Visitation. One of these, Mr. John French, happened to be Registrar of the University, and in this capacity had borrowed from the Vice-Chancellor the University Register, in order to make an extract from it in his own rooms. The Visitors, having vainly pressed him to give it up, solved the question by sending to his rooms and seizing it. In the meantime, on September 30, they had issued warrants, directing all Heads of colleges to send their Statutes, Registers, and Accounts to their own head-quarters at Merton, where the Proctors soon afterwards appeared (October 8), and publicly, though vainly, protested against the Visitors having any lawful jurisdiction over the University.

Having once determined to employ stringent coercive measures against academical malcontents, Parliament directed the Earl of Pembroke, as Chancellor, to enforce them in person. He entered Oxford in state on April 11, 1648, and Cheynell welcomed him with a florid speech at the gate of Merton. He then 'rode into the public vault or entry leading into Merton,' as Anthony Wood tells us, and, having undergone a Latin speech from Ralph Button, retired to the Warden's lodgings. The next day he was duly installed at a Convocation, and Edward Corbet of Merton, suddenly created Public Orator in the place of Dr. Hammond, addressed him in another Latin speech at the Proscholium, but we are told that no Head of a college visited him[1]. A summary expulsion of contumacious University dignitaries immediately followed. Ten Heads of colleges were ejected, and two vacant Headships were filled up by the Visitors; most of the Professors and Canons of Christ Church shared the same fate and were replaced, often by worthy successors, under orders from

[1] On the same occasion Edward Reynolds was admitted Vice-Chancellor by Sir Nathaniel Brent, and Ralph Button Junior Proctor.

the Visitors[1]. The learned and excellent Hammond, then Canon of Christ Church and Public Orator, was originally superseded in favour of Corbet, but on Corbet's declining preferment so cast upon him, his brother Fellow, Button, was substituted.

On May 12, 1648, the Fellows, Scholars, Members, and Servants of Merton College appeared before the Visitors to make or refuse their submission. Anthony Wood states that, out of about thirty-three, 'sixteen or thereabouts did directly submit, the others answered dilatory;' and this statement is supported by the answers recorded in the Visitors' Register itself. Three more or less evaded the question by declaring their readiness to obey the Warden; others qualified their answers by submitting only so far as the Visitors had authority from the king; French, no longer Registrar, submitted on the ground that he was bound to do so by the capitulation of Oxford to Fairfax; Nicholas Howson boldly declared himself unable to reconcile submission with his sworn allegiance to the King, the University, and the College. He was accordingly ordered to be removed, but reappears as a Fellow in 1649; and it is by no means certain how many recusants were permanently deprived of their Fellowships or other emoluments[2]. Several are mentioned as having given in their submission at a later date. Indeed, a list of 'Persons Removed from their Places,' given in the Visitors' Register (p. 200), mentions only Greaves

[1] Clarendon says loosely that almost all the Heads and Fellows of colleges were turned out by the Parliamentary Visitors, 'scarce one submitting.' Walker, in his 'Sufferings of the Clergy,' estimates the whole number of Fellows and Scholars deprived for refusal at 400; Wood estimates it at 334. Professor Burrows, in his 'General Summary of Expulsions and Submissions in Colleges and Halls,' reckons the number of undoubted expulsions at 374, besides 141 doubtful cases, and the number of undoubted submissions at 404, besides 71 doubtful cases. So obstinate was the resistance of the colleges that it was at last thought necessary to proclaim that any expelled members remaining in Oxford should incur the penalty of death.

[2] In the list of Fellows given in the College Register, under the date of August 1649, the names of French, Greaves, and Howson appear; but those of Greaves and Howson are not to be found in the list for the following year.

and Turner as removed on October 30, 1648; Howson and two Postmasters as removed for non-submission upon order of the Committee of Lords and Commons on August 6, 1649; and twelve Postmasters as 'removed upon Elections contrary to an Order of Parliament,' on January 16, 1650. Some of these last, however, were afterwards restored through Brent's influence[1].

In Anthony Wood's own list of Merton Postmasters, preserved in vol. cccclvi. of the Tanner MSS., thirteen in all are mentioned as having been expelled for 'non-submission to the Parliament'—Richard Hodgskin, Robert Bostock ('an Eaton Postmaster'), John Loke, Samuel Jones, John Blanks, Bryan Ambler, Sylvester Surtzer, John Wright, Richard Immings (or Yeomans), Thomas James, George Owen, Thomas Myers, and George Pricket. Of these, George Owen, Thomas Myers, and George Pricket are mentioned as having been put in by Fellows contrary to the Visitor's orders; Pricket, however, though removed, was reinstated by them. Thomas Laurence, 'being forced to leave Merton, went to Alban Hall.' Eight Postmasters are mentioned as having submitted to the Visitors—John Newman, Josias Prickit, William Kemble, Henry Hanley, and Richard Phillips (both of whom at first refused), John Smart, Stephen Richmond, and William Stane (or Stone). Of these, Stephen Richmond had been put in by one of the Fellows, against the Visitor's Order, but, on his submission, was readmitted. George Child and Edward Rood were admitted by the favour of the Visitors, and two others, Bartholomew Grave and William Cox, are stated by Anthony Wood to have become Commoners of Merton, in expectation of preferment from the Visitors, who rewarded the former with a Fellowship of Wadham, and the latter with a Fellowship of Brasenose. At Merton, they were 'chamber-fellows in the corner-chamber under the Library, and when they left the College they gave

[1] For a summary table, extracted from the Visitors' Register (pp. 520–6), and exhibiting the treatment of Merton College, see Appendix E.

between them a little piece of plate.' William Hereward, or Harwood, another Postmaster, gave no answer to the Visitors, but withdrew himself from the College[1]. Anthony Wood himself, then a Postmaster, having declined to give a direct answer, was saved from expulsion by the kindness of Brent; 'otherwise,' he says, 'he had infallibly gone to the Pot.' Professor Burrows's catalogue of expelled persons known to have been members of Merton in any capacity, including that of servants, during this stormy period, gives only fourteen cases of ascertained expulsion, though several others are left doubtful. It is curious that Edward Wood, brother of the great antiquary and a staunch Royalist, was appointed a Fellow by the Visitors. He occupied 'the bay-tree chamber next to the College Gate,' and Anthony 'was put into the cock-loft over him,' but was afterwards removed to a room in 'Mob Quadrangle,' opposite the 'Exchequer-Chamber.'

On May 17, 1649, Fairfax and Cromwell visited Oxford together and were lodged at All Souls. On this occasion, the future Protector, addressing the University authorities, professed a respect for the interests of learning which he afterwards displayed practically as Chancellor. When the two Generals received their D.C.L. degree, the proceedings of Convocation were concluded by an oration from Ralph Button, as Public Orator. Notwithstanding this visit, and the presence of a standing Commission, a Royalist spirit lingered still at Merton. On the 18th of September, in this very year (1649), John French, Roger Brent, Robert Sayer, and Richard Lydall, all of whom, except Roger Brent, had submitted, were put out of commons for a week, and ordered to be publicly admonished by the Warden, upon their own confession, for drinking the king's health as far back as the previous November, with a 'tertiavit' and uncovered

[1] On August 2, 1650, it was ordered that £40, in lieu of all arrears, should be paid to four ex-postmasters—Munday, Woode, Rider, and Dickenson—who had withdrawn from the College for some years during the Civil War.

heads—perhaps out of the chalice taken from the founder's tomb at Rochester in 1598, and said to have been afterwards used by the Royalists as a drinking-cup.

An order had been received on August 1, 1649, prohibiting new elections of College officers until the pleasure of the Visitors should be known, and it is evident that for some time afterwards Merton was directly governed by them, instead of by the Warden and Seniors. We have a series of orders by them regulating leases, the continued tenure of College offices, disputes about seniority among the Fellows, the admission of Probationers to actual Fellowships, and the examination of candidates for Probationer-Fellowships by six delegates appointed by the Visitors themselves. These orders concerning the Fellowship elections were subsequently modified by the Parliamentary 'Committee for Reformation of the University of Oxford.' Indeed, we find an order of that Committee, dated September 27, 1649, recommending to the Visitors ten persons, two of them Cambridge men, 'for Fellowships in Merton Colledge, when any shall be voyd, or elsewhere.' An entry in the College Register, dated December 21, 1649, places this affair in a somewhat different aspect. It is there stated that, several weeks before that day, the Visitors had 'co-opted into the College,' of their own authority, and by a single act of election, eleven Fellows, four Masters, and seven Bachelors; that Sir Nathaniel Brent had protested against this proceeding, as burdensome to the College, and 'wholly novel;' but that his appeal to the Committee sitting in London had been fruitless. Two of the Masters thus nominated were admitted on December 22, six Bachelors on January 1, and a seventh on January 5; another Master was admitted on February 27, and one of the Bachelors was promoted to be a Master in the following May, before completing his year of probation. The eleventh nominee of the Visitors cannot be identified, and there is no record of his being admitted, while the list of those actually admitted does not exactly correspond with the list of those

recommended by the Parliamentary Committee. It appears that some at least of those admitted received no emoluments until the Committee decreed that they should be allowed all their arrears, at the rate of eight shillings a week, with all other profits, for the period of their non-residence between election and admission. Considering that Merton, with Lincoln, was the most Parliamentarian of colleges, and had already been allowed to govern itself independently, Professor Burrows is at a loss to explain this constant interference, except on the supposition that Brent's influence was already on the wane, in consequence of differences with his colleagues.

It appears that on July 26, 1649, Greaves applied to be restored, and the articles then exhibited in reply to his application disclose the nature of the dissensions which must have prevailed in the College during the Civil War. According to these articles, it was Greaves who informed the King's agents that the money in Merton College Treasury was at the disposal of the King, then quartered at Oxford, overruling the objections of French, and arranging for the removal of £400 from the Treasury for the King's use. He was also alleged to have abstracted a part of the college goods and gratified courtiers with them, to have feasted and dallied with the Queen's confessors, to have got up the petition upon which Brent was ejected to make room for Harvey, to have procured the expulsion of Corbet and Button from their college offices, and to have caused the property of divers young scholars to be plundered and spoiled. It further appears from another entry that he was accused of making away, in like manner, with the college plate. On the other hand, Greaves, supposing French to be the author of these accusations, retorted by recriminatory charges. In the end, both incurred the like penalty of expulsion, though Greaves was awarded compensation for the arrears of his salary, as Savilian Professor of Astronomy. The order in the case of French, then on his deathbed, is dated January 22, 1650. It states that having

been proved guilty of excessive drinking and swearing, as well as of constantly discovering 'a malignant spirit against the honest partie in the colledge and Universitye,' he was judged deserving to be expelled, but that, as he was then disabled by sickness from appearing, he was thereby suspended from all powers or privileges in college. At the same time, Roger Brent was expelled for similar offences, 'as a person not fit to reside in a religiouse or civil societye.' Anthony Wood tells us that these proceedings were taken on the information of a disloyal bible-clerk, and a bachelor-fellow named Thomas Franke. This man, who turned Royalist after the Restoration, also informed against the historian's brother, Edward Wood, for over-hospitality as well as for drinking the king's health two years before, in consequence of which he was sentenced to loss of commons and suspension from his tutorship.

On February 13, 1651, a petition from Sir Nathaniel Brent was read before the Parliamentary Committee for Reformation of the Universities, complaining of sundry grievances in the Visitation of Merton; especially of a Fellow being put in contrary to statute and of laudable customs being violated in the nomination of Postmasters. This protest marks a rupture between Brent and his brother Visitors, nearly connected with the chronic misunderstanding between the Visitors and the Parliamentary Committee. The Visitors were now ordered by the Committee to answer Brent's complaint, but whether they did so, we have no means of knowing. Professor Burrows points out that Brent had signed no order as Visitor since the previous August, and never signed again till October 1, 1651, when he signed for the last time. Probably he was disgusted with the constant meddling of his colleagues in the affairs of his own College. At all events, on November 27, 1651, he resigned the Wardenship, nominally in obedience to an order forbidding pluralities, but probably also in consequence of his refusal to sign 'The Engagement,' binding the subscribers to uphold a Commonwealth without a king or

a House of Lords. He died in the following year at the age of seventy-nine.

His successor, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, was directly appointed by the Parliamentary Visitors, as appears by the Register, and, as we are told, upon the express nomination of Cromwell, who, like Charles I, used the Wardenship of Merton as a prize to reward his own favourite physician. The election took place on December 9, 1651, but the mandatory letter from 'the Committee for Reformation of the Universityes' is dated on November 27, being the day of Brent's resignation, the acceptance of which is there recorded. The letter proceeds to recite that 'this Committee have not yet declared y^e^ sayde College to be in a capacity of makinge theire elections in a statutable way,' that they have received satisfactory testimony of Goddard's piety and true worth, that he is thereby constituted Warden, and that all the Fellows are required to obey him. In the congratulatory oration delivered by Sterry, on his admission, the paramount influence of Cromwell is openly acknowledged and invoked[1].

Goddard had originally been educated at Magdalen Hall, but after travelling abroad, became a graduate of Christ's College at Cambridge, and took his M.D. degree from Catherine Hall in that University. Like Harvey, and so many other Wardens of Merton in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he was a member of the medical profession, and became a Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1646. In 1649 he was Head-Physician to Cromwell's army in Ireland, and in 1650 he filled the same position in Cromwell's Scotch campaign. On January 1, 1650, Cromwell, then at Edinburgh, was elected Chancellor of the University by an unanimous vote of Convocation[2], and on October 16, 1652, being still detained by the war in Scotland, he commissioned Dr. Goddard, with the Dean

[1] The pitifully meagre inventory of College plate made on Goddard's accession shows how completely the College had despoiled itself for the benefit of Charles I.

[2] We learn from Anthony Wood that while the Chancellorship was 'laying void,' the Visitors assumed the power thereof.

of Christ Church, the Warden of Wadham, the President of Magdalen, and Peter French, to exercise all his official powers in his absence. In 1653 Goddard was sole representative of Oxford University in the so-called Barebones Parliament, on the nomination of Cromwell, and was also one of the Council of State, as well as body-physician to the Protector. He seems to have been an accomplished man, having been associated with Sir Christopher Wren, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Wilkins, and others, in those scientific meetings at Oxford which marked an anti-Puritanical Renaissance and were the real origin of the Royal Society.

From April 13, 1652, to June 20, 1653, the Visitation of Oxford seems to have been practically suspended. The Committee of Parliament having been dissolved, the Visitors ceased to act: their Register is a blank, and even Anthony Wood supplies few materials for a history of these fourteen months. Meanwhile, the University itself had petitioned for the appointment of fresh Visitors, fewer in number than before, to complete the new academical settlement. These were at last appointed, and Dr. Goddard was one of them, but they did not sit until June 20, 1653, when they began work in earnest and agreed to meet every Monday and Tuesday[1]. Unlike their predecessors, they concerned themselves but little with the internal affairs of Merton. We find however one entry, dated December 7, 1653, which records a salutary regulation of the Visitors that Gentlemen Commoners should perform the same exercises as others of their standing, and enforces the observance of it at Merton, where the Bachelors had complained of a Gentleman Commoner having obtained an exemption from the Dean[2]. These Visitors directed that sermons should be regularly and frequently preached in college chapels, but Anthony Wood specially mentions the

[1] Dr. Goddard excused his absence from a college meeting on August 1, 1653, on the ground that he was summoned to Parliament, and that 'it is not free for any in my relation to go into the country without asking leave of the House.'

[2] Anthony Wood mentions Basil Brent, son of Sir Nathaniel, as a 'fellow-commoner;' doubtless the same as a gentleman commoner.

exemption of Merton from this rule, on the ground that a divinity lecture had already been instituted there by Warden Bickley in the sixteenth century. On September 2, 1654, a third Board of Visitors, again including Dr. Goddard, was appointed by Cromwell, and lasted for nearly four years, but the records of its proceedings are comparatively scanty, and do not affect Merton. There is no evidence to show how it was finally brought to an end, but Professor Burrows suggests that, besides the political storms gathering in 1658, there was a growing sentiment of University independence which rebelled against the constant dictation of resident Visitors, largely selected from among the Heads of Houses, and often judging in their own causes. However this may have been, Merton College seems to have gradually recovered its corporate liberty, and is treated as a self-governing society in a letter from Henry Cromwell, dated June 22, 1657, requesting that Mr. Whitehall, a Fellow, may be allowed leave of absence, without loss of emolument, to give instruction in the University of Dublin.

Scattered notices of collegiate life at Merton during this confused period may be gleaned from the College Register and from the quaint autobiography of Anthony Wood. This great antiquary, to whom Oxford owes so much, was matriculated on May 26, 1647, but was not entered on the books of Merton until the following October. He gives an amusing account, too long for quotation, of the rough ceremonies observed by the undergraduates on All Saints' Eve, and other eves and saints' days up to Christmas. There were then charcoal fires in the hall after five o'clock, and freshmen were expected to sit on a form and make jokes for the amusement of their companions, on pain of being 'tucked,' or scarified by a thumb-nail applied under the lip, after a fashion of which the art is now, happily, lost. Again, on Candlemas Day (February 2) every freshman received notice to prepare a speech to be delivered on the following Shrove Tuesday; when they were compelled to declaim in undress

from a form placed on the high-table, being rewarded with 'cawdel' if the performance were good; with cawdel and salted drink, if it were indifferent; and with salted drink and 'tucks,' if it were dull. Anthony Wood specially mentions that this custom of initiating freshmen had been practised time out of mind, but was disused under the Commonwealth—probably in deference to Puritan sentiment—and was entirely forgotten twenty or thirty years later.

Two events of some interest in connexion with the history of the chapel occurred within the same period. On October 17, 1655, about 9 o'clock at night, a great part of the roof over the south transept, adjoining the tower, suddenly fell within the ante-chapel, breaking all the stones on the floor, some of which were monumental stones. In January, 1657, it was resolved to melt down the five ancient bells, dating from the time of Warden Abendon, early in the fifteenth century, and recast them into eight bells. Wood, himself a bell-ringer, condemns this decision, and declared that the great bell passed for being the finest in England. Though he contributed towards a new peal with his mother and two brothers, he would simply have added a sixth bell, and characteristically remarks that nothing but the knavery of the Sub-Warden prevented this being done. The old bells had been rung from the ground, but a belfry floor was erected under the tower for the purpose of ringing the new bells, which, however, gave little satisfaction, and were again recast. When the present bells were finally hung in 1681, it was found necessary to rebuild the floor, which had been constructed of bad timber[1]. In 1659 certain wall-paintings at the back of the stalls in the choir, having been daubed over during the Commonwealth, were replaced by new pictures in oil; and it was now that many of the brasses

[1] Anthony Wood states that, when the bells were finally recast, a window was opened in the belfry towards Corpus Christi College to give light, and Hearne adds that the tower was formerly covered with ivy. The wooden framework supporting these bells, having become decayed, is now (1885) being reconstructed.

still missing on monumental stones were stolen by the workmen [1]. Anthony Wood says that he vainly complained to the Fellows, none of whom cared to interfere, but consoles himself with the reflection that he had already transcribed and preserved the inscriptions on them. At this time he was living with his mother in the house, which still retains its name of Postmasters' Hall, opposite the college gate; and he mentions that on July 20, 1659, this house was searched for arms, in anticipation of a Cavalier rising to support the Royalists in Cheshire. Soon afterwards he fitted up a bedroom and study on the east side of the house, and there composed most of his voluminous works [2].

Meanwhile, the College Register unconsciously bears witness that modern notions of comfort were beginning to modify the old austerity of college life. In 1658 the room at the north end of the library was set apart, as it is now, for the librarian [3]. In the autumn of 1661, 'the chamber above the kitchen' was converted into a 'common-room'—probably the earliest of all the rooms thus appropriated in Oxford—and ten years later a legacy of £200 was left by Mr. Nicholls, a Fellow, to floor the common-room [4] and purchase books for the library. About the same time, Mr. Fisher, a Fellow, and

[1] A very large number of Fellows are recorded by Wood and Astry to have been interred in the chapel of whom no monument or record is to be found, while several monumental stones in the ante-chapel have no inscriptions on them which can be deciphered.

[2] He afterwards complains bitterly that, when only thirteen years of the lease had expired, a fine of 70*l.* was exacted for its renewal, together with a renewed lease of the 'Fleur de Luce.' For this severity he chiefly blames Dr. Dickenson, the Bursar, Roger Brent, and Edward Turner. The Register confirms this statement, and shows that while the 'Fleur de Luce' was leased to his mother, Postmasters' Hall was leased to himself and his two brothers, Robert and Christopher.

He mentions that on May 4, 1666, he was given permission to peruse the evidences in Merton College Treasury, in the presence of Peter Nicolls, a Fellow. A like permission had already been granted to him on two former occasions, and the College Register proves that it was renewed on December 8, 1679.

[3] We find occasional references in the Register to a room called by the curious name of 'Oxoniam quare,' which cannot be identified. Possibly it was this room, or that which now forms part of the library at its east end.

[4] In the next year an allocation of one shilling, probably per day, was granted to a servant for waiting on the Fellows in the common-room.

Dr. Reynolds, the late Warden, left sums of money for the purpose of adorning the chapel, which, accordingly, was surrounded with a new wainscot, and paved with black and white marble. While these repairs were going on, service was held in the hall. It is probable, also, that more care was bestowed on the garden, the history of which is not easy to retrace. We find, however, that in 1677 the Mayor and Corporation granted the College a lease of part of the City wall for a hundred years, and that in 1682 the College granted them a lease without fine of a house in Holywell Street in exchange for a lease, on the same terms, of a part of the college garden belonging to the City.

On July 18, 1660, Dr. Reynolds, one of the first Board of Visitors, was elected Warden, under a mandatory letter from Charles II, dated July 7, as successor to Sir Nathaniel Brent, the Wardenship of Goddard, like the Protectorate of Cromwell, being treated as null and void[1]. Reynolds had been elected a Probationer Fellow of Merton as far back as 1620. In 1642 he joined the Presbyterian party, was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, took the Covenant, and became famous for his sermons before the Long Parliament. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor and Dean of Christ Church in 1648, but in 1651 he refused the 'Engagement,' and was thereupon ejected from the deanery. Having taken part with Monk in promoting the Restoration, he was reinstated in the deanery, but was soon afterwards requested to resign it, and accepted the Wardenship of Merton. He retained this office, however, but a few months, being raised to the see of Norwich in February, 1661. A new Visitation was now issued by the Marquis of Hertford, again Chancellor of the University[2], and Dr.

[1] Goddard afterwards became a member of the Council of the Royal Society, and lived at Gresham College, being the only Fellow of that College who was not turned out after Cromwell's death. He was the author of various papers.

[2] The rapid succession of Chancellors about this period is worthy of notice. In 1657 Oliver Cromwell resigned, and 'the Lord Richard Cromwell' was elected. On May 8, 1660, foreseeing the Restoration, he also resigned. The Marquis of Hertford was re-elected, but died on October 24, and was succeeded by Sir Edward

Thomas Clayton, Reynolds's future successor, was appointed to serve on it, though he was among those who submitted to the Parliamentary Visitors, and took the Engagement. This Visitation resulted, of course, in a general restoration of Royalists to academic posts, and among others three Fellows of Merton, who had been expelled in 1648, were ordered to be re-admitted: two of these, Lee and Fowle, died in the same year; the other, Roger Brent, after a solemn admonition in 1664, was expelled once more in 1667 as incorrigible, receiving an allowance of £10 a year, on condition of his leaving Oxford. Anthony Wood says that the Commissioners, 'sitting several weeks in August, September, etc., restored all such as were living, unmarried, to their respective places,' and retained many others who recanted and conformed. Moreover, a royal letter of February 6, 1660, had re-established all the statutes and regulations in force before the 'Usurpation.' This letter, followed by the Act of Uniformity in 1662, must have rendered the positions of many Puritans at Oxford practically untenable. But lenient counsels seem to have prevailed with the Visitors, places were found afterwards for many of those now expelled, and the University, so long the battle-ground of rival parties in the State, was left in comparative peace under Charles II.

The election of Sir Thomas Clayton in 1661 was the occasion of a conflict almost as memorable as that which marked the election of Man in the sixteenth century. We learn from Evelyn's Diary that his own father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, was a candidate for the Wardenship of Merton, where he was a student about forty years before. It is clear, however, that Evelyn's information about the circumstances of the election was imperfect, and our knowledge of this

Hyde, the Lord Chancellor, on October 27. In 1667, Hyde, then Lord Clarendon, resigned, and Archbishop Sheldon was elected, but was never installed, and resigned in 1669, when the Duke of Ormond was elected. Nineteen years afterwards he was succeeded by his grandson, in spite of a mandate from James II recommending Lord Jefferies.

amusing episode in the history of the College must be derived from the graphic pages of Anthony Wood, since the details of it were purposely suppressed in the Register.

On the 5th of March, seven of the senior Fellows proceeded to the election of a new Warden, but two of these had been specially appointed in the place of two others above them in standing, who had declined to vote, because they foresaw the job already contemplated. According to ancient custom, the electors were bound to lay three names before the Visitor, then Archbishop Juxon, out of which he was to select one. All the seven placed Sir Richard Browne first on their lists, and six also named Mr. Fisher and Dr. Lydall; but the seventh, Dr. Jones, gave his second vote for Sir Thomas Clayton, Regius Professor of Medicine. Clayton's friends exerted all their interest on his behalf, and he was not only nominated by the Visitor on March 26, but knighted on the following day. On March 30, Clayton arrived at Oxford by coach, having been met at Shotover by a number of his Oxford admirers. On April 1, he presented himself at the College gate, with several of the University authorities and Royal Commissioners. They were allowed to enter by the wicket, but the gate was not thrown open, and the doors of the hall, the buttery, the treasury-vault, and the Warden's lodgings were locked against them by order of the Fellows. Thus barred out, Sir Thomas Clayton produced the Visitor's letter of nomination, and, after again vainly claiming possession from the acting Sub-Warden, proceeded towards the chapel, having learned from the groom that he could unlock the chapel door with the stable-key, procured for him by Jones, his one adherent among the Fellows. Thereupon Jones installed him in the Warden's seat, but the blockade was maintained for a fortnight or three weeks by the rest of the Fellows, and he could not enter either the College or his own lodgings. At last the Sub-Warden gave way, for which he was punished by the immortal scorn of Anthony Wood, who is not ashamed to gloat over the derangement and sub-

sequent death, by plague, of the 'knave and rogue' Jones. Accordingly, on May 3, Sir Thomas Clayton appeared again before the College gates, which this time were thrown wide open, and he was duly admitted.

Whether or not he deserved the sweeping abuse of Anthony Wood, as a man of infamous character, there can be little doubt that he proved a most overbearing and unpopular Warden. The College Register bears some traces of discord between him and the Fellows, as well as of unusual outlay on the Warden's lodgings, but the particulars of these domestic quarrels must be sought in the indictment which Anthony Wood has framed against him under seven heads. The first charge is that, being 'a married stranger,' he brought with him a family, 'most of them women-kind, which before were looked upon, if resident in the college, a Scandall and an Abomination thereunto,' and that no sooner was he settled than 'a great dislike was taken by the Lady Clayton to the Warden's standing goods, viz. Chaires, Stooles, Tables, Chimney Furniture, the Furniture belonging to the Kitchen, Scullery, etc., all which was well liked by Dr. Goddard, Brent, Savile, etc.,' but now had to be changed at a great expense to the college. The second charge is that he caused the Warden's garden to be laid out afresh at a heavy cost, and, above all, 'there must be a new summer-house built at the south end of the Warden's Garden, wherein her Ladyship and her Gossips may take their pleasure, and any Eves-dropper of the Family may harken what any of the Fellows should accidentally talk of in the passage to their owne Garden.' This summer-house, which cost £100, is to be seen in Loggan's view of Merton, drawn in 1675, and seems to have crowned the bastion in the City wall on the south terrace, which, however, was not formed until afterwards. Wood further accuses Clayton not only of keeping more coach-horses than his predecessors in the college stable, but of making a dishonest profit out of the forage allowed by the College; of charging the College with various items of personal expenditure, such as an immense

looking-glass for his wife, 'for her to see her ugly face and body to the middle,' and an equally large bedstead with bedding for himself; of burning an inordinate quantity of the choicest firewood in his numerous grates; of annexing to the Warden's house a set of Fellows' rooms in the large quadrangle; and of dragging the college into a disastrous lawsuit with the City respecting certain liberties in Holywell [1].

We have still more abundant and trustworthy proofs of the standing feud between the Warden and Fellows which disturbed the peace of the college during Clayton's administration, in a series of papers filling the greater part of a volume in the Tanner collection of MSS. They consist, for the most part, of a correspondence between Sir Thomas Clayton and two successive Visitors—Archbishops Sheldon and Sancroft—with letters from aggrieved Fellows and others complaining of the Warden's conduct, reports of the Visitor's referees, and subsidiary documents of the same kind. Some of the points in dispute were trumpery enough, and it is impossible not to sympathise with overworked Archbishops who, in the midst of graver anxieties, were compelled to adjudicate upon such questions as the right of the Warden to dismiss a drunken under-butler, who had originally bought his office, and was supported by certain malcontent Fellows. A more serious controversy arose out of the Warden's claim to expel a Fellow, Richard Hine, by his own authority, for insolent language and bearing. This controversy does not appear to have been explicitly decided by Archbishop Sheldon, who acted the part of a mediator, and procured the restoration of Hine on his making a formal, but certainly not heartfelt, submission to the Warden. Thereupon the quarrel was revived in the form of unseemly altercations between the Warden and his opponents, on the right of Hine to receive allowances for the period between his expulsion and readmission. This was at last decided by the Visitor, but not before new complaints

[1] The judgment against the College seems to have been reversed in 1685.

had been made to him of the Warden's refusal to let the Fellows examine the College Register. Shortly afterwards, a long battle raged between the Warden and Fellows, headed by Hine, concerning the right of Fellows to nominate Postmasters, which ended in favour of the Fellows, since Isaiah Ward, whose nomination had been contested, was ultimately admitted under a mandate from the Archbishop[1].

These proceedings ranged over a period of three years (1675–8), and, so far as appears, there was a cessation of hostilities for a short twelvemonth, after which, Sancroft having succeeded Sheldon, the war broke out afresh. It appears that in 1667 an election of Fellows was expected to be made at Merton, but was put off, as Wood says, 'upon pretence that the College was in debt,' and the Register shows that about this period the number of Fellows was generally below the average[2]. On August 2, 1679, it was agreed that six might be elected, and five were duly chosen by the Warden and thirteen Seniors out of seventeen candidates. The Warden, however, refused to put forward the name of a sixth, preferred by the majority, or any other name, unless the Fellows would engage to elect one of two proposed by himself. A long altercation followed, in the course of which the Sub-Warden, supported by several of the Seniors, thrice admonished the Warden, according to the Statutes, at intervals of two days, and then laid their complaint before the Visitor. In the course of the correspondence, it was positively alleged that a bribe had been offered to Mr. Jarman, one of the Fellows, at the election. Another question had also arisen respecting the power of the Warden to expel or suspend a Fellow without the consent

[1] The only excuse for the overbearing conduct of Clayton is to be found in the spirit manifested by a section of the Fellows. Before his election, according to Anthony Wood, 'the Fellows of Merton College did usually say, in the hearing of A. W., that, as the College was dissolved in the time of the grand Rebellion, so 'twas no matter to them if it was dissolved againe, rather than Tom Clayton should be Warden thereof.'

[2] In 1677 there were but nineteen Fellows in all, and as only seven Masters were residing in college, only two Deans were elected.

of the seven Seniors—which power Clayton had assumed to exercise against Mr. Bernard, one of the Fellows, who had incurred his displeasure by carrying and presenting the petition of the Sub-Warden and Fellows without his leave. Both these questions were submitted to Archbishop Sancroft, by way of appeal, and referred by him to Commissioners. Ultimately, legal opinions were taken upon them, and they were finally decided by a decree of the Visitor, dated May 10, 1680. The result was to negative the right of the Warden to veto the election of a Fellow chosen by the majority of Fellows. Accordingly, a sixth Probationer, Mr. Lane, was elected on the 26th of the following May. In the Register this incident is treated with decorous brevity, and we are only informed that the sixth election, being adjourned till May *propter gravissimas rationes*, was then completed. On the other hand, the decree upheld the Warden's right to inflict any penalty, not even short of expulsion, by his own authority, on a refractory Fellow, even without previous admonition. This right, indeed, had often been enforced in the past history of the College, though sentences of deprivation were usually recorded as having been passed by the Warden, with the assent of the Seniors. But the controversial resources of the College were by no means exhausted in this wearisome discussion, and at least two other disputes were carried on in the succeeding five years. One of these related to the rejection of Strange Southby, who had been elected a Probationer in 1679, but whom the Warden and Fellows concurred in refusing to admit as an actual Fellow, apparently on the ground that his conduct had been generally offensive. Here, after an appeal to Sancroft, their refusal was sustained. The other dispute turned on the right of the Senior Fellow to receive a lease of the Burmington tithes—a licensed abuse, consecrated by custom, sanctioned on this occasion by the Visitor, and maintained within living memory.

Meanwhile, in September 1665, while the plague was raging

in London, Charles II and his Queen arrived at Oxford from Salisbury, and took up their quarters, as usual, the King at Christ Church, and the Queen at Merton[1]. The Queen was lodged in the same rooms as Henrietta Maria, and there continued until the following February. Miss Stuart, afterwards Duchess of Richmond, occupied Mr. Fisher's rooms in the Fellows' Quadrangle, of which the lower half was thenceforth appropriated by Sir Thomas Clayton. Barbara Villiers, Lady Castlemaine and afterwards Duchess of Cleveland, was accommodated with another set of rooms, in which, on December 28, 1665, was born her son, George Villiers, afterwards Earl of Northumberland[2]. It is stated in the College Register that Bachelor Fellows and Postmasters were turned out of their chambers to make room for the Court, and that as there were more ladies than scholars in the chapel, 'ordinary prayers' were used in the service; which seems to imply that Latin prayers were still the rule in colleges.

We may pass lightly over the history of Merton during the latter part of Charles II's reign, which seems to have been as inglorious for Oxford as it was for England. It is true that several University buildings date from this period. The restoration of the Divinity School was completed by Wren in 1669, and in the same year the Sheldonian Theatre was dedicated to its present use[3]. In 1677 the Arundel Marbles were presented to the University by the Earl of Arundel, mainly owing to the assiduous exertions of John Evelyn; on May 24, 1683, the Ashmolean Museum was opened, and in the next month Convocation accepted Elias Ashmole's gift of all his rarities. Meanwhile, although the

[1] The 'Oxford Gazette' first came out on November 7, 1665, when the Court was at Oxford. It had been preceded by the 'Mercurius Aulicus,' and 'Mercurius Rusticus,' which came out at irregular intervals between 1642 and 1665. The first 'London Gazette' was not published till February 5, 1666.

[2] She told Dean Fell, as we learn from Prideaux's letters, that she wished him to be educated at Christ Church, as he was thus born among the scholars. This event is also mentioned in a note to Pepys' Diary for January 9, 1665–6.

[3] In 1671 the College presented the University with the picture of the Founder in the University Gallery.

City gates remained, the ditch was being filled up and new streets formed along the site of it[1]. Nevertheless, Anthony Wood, writing in 1677, puts the question, 'Why doth solid and serious Learning decline, and few or none follow it now in the University?' In his answer he divides the blame pretty equally between the ale-houses, of which there were said to be above 370 in Oxford, the newly established 'coffea-houses,' and the 'Common Chambers,' by which he means what are now known as common rooms[2]. In 1682 he remarks on the dearth of students, which he attributes to three causes. The first is the constant expectation of a Parliament to be held at Oxford and the fear of being turned out to make room for members of both Houses. The second is that 'all those that we call Whigs, and side with the Parliament, will not send their sons, for fear of their being Tories.' The last is that the University, like the Episcopal Bench, labours under the suspicion of a leaning towards Popery[3].

At all events, the chronicles of the University and of the College are almost equally devoid of interest. We search the College Register in vain for any notices more important than an entry of a contribution towards rebuilding St. Paul's, orders and counter-orders about the reception of Commoners, and the ordinary minutes of Fellowship-elections. We can hardly be surprised that in 1681 a Probationer of Merton was excluded from an actual Fellowship 'for being a Green-Ribband man and saying that the old king, Charles I, died justly,' as

[1] In 1671, a conference was held and attended by Anthony Wood and others, on behalf of Merton College, 'in order for a course to be taken, that the Towne Ditch, on the east side of New College Wall, be drayned, that buildings may be erected on it, and that the owners of the said buildings repaire the way lying before their dores, viz., that way between the said ditch and Magdalen College Wall, that incloses the Grove.' Anthony Wood's Life.

[2] An order of Vice-Chancellor Mews, dated July 10, 1671, shows that plays were then acted in 'the new Tenis Court' by 'the Duke of York's servants,' and warns students against making disturbances 'in and about' it.

[3] In 1673 there were but sixteen Fellows at Merton, and the junior of them all was M.D. It was afterwards decided that a Doctor of junior standing should rank below a Master of senior standing.

well as for speaking against the bishops. On the other hand, it is some evidence of collegiate self-respect that when the Visitor (Archbishop Sancroft) interceded for him, and begged that he might be allowed another year of probation, the College absolutely refused, on the ground that he 'in no way deserved it[1].' Even at this epoch, Merton produced some distinguished scholars. One of these, Robert Huntington, became an eminent Orientalist, and Prideaux speaks of him as the only man likely to compete with himself for the Hebrew Professorship. He was for many years chaplain to the English Factory at Aleppo, and sent from the East some valuable Oriental books, to enrich Merton College Library[2].

The dulness of Merton annals was broken, however, by one very tragical incident, which seems to have produced a deeper impression in the University than we might have expected to be felt in such an age as that of Charles II, and in such a state of academical society. The story is told by Anthony Wood, but more graphically by Humphrey Prideaux in his letters to Ellis, published in 1875 by the Camden Society. On Sunday, October 23, 1681, William Cardonnel, a Fellow of Merton, who had taken a part against the Warden in the affair of the election in 1679, and had continued to be on unfriendly terms with him, destroyed himself in his own rooms under circumstances which reflected little credit on Clayton's humanity. It appears that, having been either Bursar or deputy Bursar in the previous year, Cardonnel had defrauded the College to the extent of £3 or £4. This had preyed upon his conscience, and, being in this morbid frame of mind, he got into a fresh quarrel with the Warden

[1] Anthony Wood complains that in 1693 Peter Wood, then a candidate for a Merton Fellowship, was rejected 'because he was too precise and religious, and therefore not fit to make a society man.' He adds, 'This is the custom of most elections in the University.'

[2] John Massey, of Merton, is mentioned by Anthony Wood among the founders of the Chemical Society in 1683. He became Senior Proctor in the following year, and, being a Papist, was made Dean of Christ Church by James II, but the appointment caused great discontent, and he retired at the Revolution.

about a payment due for work done in the Warden's garden, and in conversation with the gardener used the audacious words —'The Warden be hanged.' The Warden called a College meeting, and forced Cardonnel to sign a written apology and submission on pain of expulsion. Haunted by an intolerable sense of disgrace, he thenceforth used every entreaty, both personally and through friends, to get the paper out of the Warden's hands, but in vain. Though warned that he meditated suicide, Sir Thomas Clayton obstinately refused to make any concession. Accordingly, he made an attempt to drown himself in the Cherwell off Magdalen Walks, but failed to do so. At last, being reduced to despair, he contrived to fasten a noose to a spring-lock on one side of his study-door, and to hang himself on the other by a method showing great ingenuity and determination. An inquest was held, and a verdict of insanity was returned; notwithstanding which he was buried the same night, stark naked, as Anthony Wood informs us, and without any ceremony, as Prideaux tells us, in the vestry yard on the south side of the chancel of Merton chapel. In his study were found directions for the disposal of his affairs, and verses from the Penitential Psalms, clearly showing premeditation. We may infer that public opinion in the University condemned the unfeeling conduct of Clayton from Prideaux's remark that 'If the Warden be not as hard as flint, it must stick on him.'

In the spring of 1681, Charles II opened the last Parliament ever held at Oxford, supposing that Whig members would there be subjected to loyalist influences, and more amenable to his own dictation. He came thither surrounded by his guards of horse and foot, while the Exclusionist leaders were escorted by hosts of friends and armed retainers. On this occasion, the Geometry, Astronomy, and Greek Schools were fitted up for the House of Lords, while the Convocation House was adapted to receive the Commons. It does not appear that Merton College took any actual part in entertaining the King, but an order was made, as usual, that junior

members of the College should vacate their rooms for the Court, and—strange to say—that stone-ware vessels were to be substituted for the silver cups, which were to be replaced in the treasury, possibly for the use of the expected guests[1]. After a week's session, however, the Parliament, having proved intractably hostile to the Duke of York, was suddenly dissolved by the King in person, who had quietly put the crown and robes of state into a sedan-chair, got into it himself, and taken both Houses by surprise.

Two years later, a temporary outburst of sympathy with the Duke of York was excited by the so-called Rye House Plot, and Merton College solemnised its thanksgivings by a sumptuous banquet. Under a similar loyal impulse, when the Duke of Monmouth landed in Dorsetshire, volunteers from the University mustered in great force, under the Earl of Abingdon, to oppose him. Merton contributed no less than forty musketeers and pikemen; and welcomed the news of Monmouth's defeat at Sedgemoor by a bonfire, at which the Sub-Warden and most of the Fellows were present. Anthony Wood says, 'It was began to be made in the great Quadrangle, but, disturbing the Warden's rest, it was removed into the little Quadrangle,' where guns were discharged, healths were drunk out of a barrel of beer provided for the purpose, and two members of the College were injured by an accidental explosion of gunpowder. A week afterwards, on a false alarm, the Merton contingent was again called out, but was soon disbanded, with the rest. In 1687, James II visited Oxford in great state, but is not reported to have honoured Merton by his presence. His bearing on this occasion, followed by his outrageous treatment of Magdalen College, went far to alienate the loyalty of the University, which even in 1683 had solemnly condemned the despotic principles of Hobbes' Leviathan,—though it also solemnly denied that resistance to a

[1] It does not appear how the Merton plate melted down for Charles I was replaced, but an order of 1673 permitted each Fellow to keep a silver cup for his private use, on giving security for it.

king could be lawful[1]. Burnet tells us that, on reaching Crewkerne, after his landing in Torbay, the Prince of Orange was saluted and invited to Oxford by the Warden of All Souls, deputed by 'some of the Heads of Houses,' who offered their College plate for his service. Merton seems to have steered a prudent course at this crisis. There is a significant College-order of November 24, 1688, directing that all the plate and money of the College should be lodged in some room lined with iron, in consequence of the disturbances to be apprehended from the Prince's advent[2]—which, however, never took place; for he received news of James's flight at Abingdon, and thence hurried towards London.

Notwithstanding this apparent lukewarmness, Merton College was not unmindful of its old liberal traditions, and fully shared in the constitutional reaction provoked by the suicidal policy of James II. Henceforth, it gradually came to be known as a distinctively Whig college, and though it no longer commanded the influence which belonged to it at the close of the Civil Wars, it was regarded as an anti-Jacobite stronghold in Oxford for more than a generation after the Revolution.

[1] This decree of Convocation, in favour of passive resistance, was publicly burned by order of the House of Lords in 1709.

[2] On March 4, 1688–9, the College plate was brought out of hiding, again, into use.

CHAPTER V.

MERTON COLLEGE AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1689.

THE accession of William III, though it exercised so great an influence on the political destinies of England, cannot be said to form a landmark in the history either of Oxford University or of Merton College. The Revolution appears to have been quietly accepted by the Academical mind as an irrevocable fact, and the flagrant violation of Academical privileges by James II had been too deeply resented to be easily forgotten. For a while, therefore, peace continued to reign within the University, and the annals of Merton exhibit the dulness said to be indicative of national well-being. In 1693, however, they were enlivened by the death of Sir Thomas Clayton, on October 4, in the thirty-third year of his Wardenship, and the election of another physician, Dr. Lydall, who had been among his competitors in 1661. In this case a question which had arisen on the election of Warden Reynolds was again raised, and referred on appeal to the Visitor, Archbishop Tillotson. He finally decided that the electing body must consist of seven Fellows chosen out of the Seniors, but need not consist of the seven absolutely Senior Fellows, and, moreover, that the vote of a majority among these was binding on the whole. A list of three was, as usual, presented to the Visitor, on which the name of Lydall stood first, that of Dr. Conant second, and that of Dr. Bateman third. For some days the Visitor hesitated, and we learn from Wood's diary that on Friday, November 8,

'Dr. Lydall came from London without hope of the Wardenship.' However, on the following day 'the Archbishop, who had in a manner denied him, nominated him Warden.' 'John Franklin the Drawer, being then at London with the Fellows,' was despatched with the news to Oxford, and, arriving by dinner-time on Sunday, congratulated Dr. Lydall in the Hall. On Monday the New Warden returned to London for confirmation, according to ancient custom, but re-entered Oxford on November 26, 'accompanied by 100 persons on horseback, while Merton College bells rang,' and was admitted on November 27. Dr. Lydall, like his predecessor, was unfortunate enough to incur the enmity of the great Merton antiquary, who thus describes his incompetence, with little regard for grammar: 'As the Archbishop, Tillotson, has done the College justice in letting it have a senior, and a man of their own body, so hath he done great injustice in this, that he hath nominated a Warden with a wife and seven or eight children, but being to be fed with the bread belonging to piety and learning, is a great detriment to the College; what they eat and drink will serve for Exhibitions for seven or eight poor scholars. Besides, Dr. Lydall is old, and unserviceable, a man of no generous spirit, ignorant of learning, and so consequently no encourager thereof. He has been a packhorse in the practical and old Galenian way of physick, knows nothing else, buys no books, nor understands what learning is, or the world, how the affairs thereof passeth, which bent for sordid interest and sneaking compliance, cares for no man, but for a penny or twopence.' Anthony Wood afterwards notices that he 'set up square glass' and rearranged the painted glass in certain windows of the Warden's house, whereby 'the majestick light was all lost;' and adds characteristically, 'Had he been a single man, and not had a nice wife, with six or seven daughters, this would not have been done. The next thing was to set up a coach, having had none before; yet, had he been a single man, as Dr. Goddard was, he would have kept none.'

Unhappily, these racy notices of contemporary events become scantier during the last years of Anthony Wood's life, and cease altogether in 1695, when he died, and was buried in the College Chapel[1]. It would really appear as if his cynical and suspicious temper had infected those around him, for we find the following passage in a letter concerning his last illness from Dr. Tanner to Dr. Charlett, Master of University, one of his trusted friends: 'Merton College people are mightily officious, sending him notes and paying him visits, either in hopes to suppress anything that he has writ (as they falsely imagine) to the scandal of the College, or else to prevail with him to give something to their Library[2].'

On November 10, 1695, William III paid a flying visit to Oxford on his way from Woodstock to Windsor. The second Duke of Ormond, then Chancellor, having preceded him, was lodged at All Souls, and rode a mile out of Oxford to meet him, in his Doctor's robes, at the head of a cavalcade apparently formed by twenty-six Doctors and twenty-four Masters of Arts, representing the various Colleges, all clothed in their gowns[3]. The representatives of Merton on this occasion were Dr. Martin, Dr. King, and Mr. Holland, whose expenses were defrayed by the College, but no general contribution was required, as in former cases of Royal visits. On meeting the King, the Vice-Chancellor delivered himself of a Latin speech; and as the party approached Oxford, the Earl of Abingdon, as High Steward, presented the Mayor, the Recorder, and other civic dignitaries.

[1] The last days of Anthony Wood are described in a well-known letter from Dr. Charlett, Master of University, appended to his so-called 'Life.'

[2] Hearne, writing on October 15, 1705, says that a cast of Anthony Wood's head was to be seen in Dr. Charlett's study, taken in plaster of Paris, 'which shows him to have been a melancholly thoughtfull man.'

[3] The 'Advertisements' issued by the Delegates of Convocation on this occasion supply a good example of the rules observed in Royal receptions at Oxford. All gownsmen are to wear academical costume during the King's visit; none except those appointed are to go out to meet him. All the rest are to assemble in the Schools' quadrangle 'upon the ringing of St. Marie's great bell.' The Masters 'with procuratorial power,' among whom was Mr. Tisset of Merton, are to assist the Curators in the Apodyterium, while arrangements are being made for the banquet in the Theatre, of which the whole area is to be reserved for the Royal party.

All rode in procession along the Cornmarket and High Street to the east gate of the Schools, whence the King passed to a banquet provided, with music, in the Sheldonian Theatre. Lord Macaulay states that he was reported to have left the refreshments untasted, and hurried away, knowing his unpopularity and fearing poison. Bishop Gibson, who describes the visit, does not confirm this improbable story[1], but mentions that, before his departure, the Chancellor, on his knees, presented to him a Bible, a Prayer-book, and 'the cutts of the University,' which may have been Loggan's series of engravings. The Chancellor stayed another day, and held a Convocation, at which various D.C.L. degrees were conferred—one upon Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Seven years later, the accession of Queen Anne seems to have evoked a vehement outburst of loyalty in the University, probably not unmixed with the hope of a Tory reaction. On the 16th of July, 1702, a grand 'Philological Exercise' was celebrated in the Theatre for the special purpose of honouring the new Queen. Nearly all the parts in this entertainment were assigned to students of noble birth, or gentlemen commoners, including Mr. Rolt of Merton, and consisted of Latin odes or essays on various courtly or scholastic themes. For instance, 'Lex Salica,' 'Annæ Reginæ Inauguratio,' 'Anna Regina,' 'Regina Periscelidis Præses,' figure prominently in the list of subjects for discourse, side by side with Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, the American expedition, the 'Social Contract,' and the lunar world. Another Philological Exercise was celebrated in the same year on December 3, but in the meantime, on August 26, Queen Anne herself, following the example of all her predecessors from Elizabeth downwards, paid Oxford the last Royal visit which it was destined to receive until those of George III, the second of which, in 1786, is described in the Diary of Miss Burney[2]. The Regulations

[1] Evelyn, however, mentions in his Diary (September 29, 1695) that, not being well received, the King barely stayed an hour, and declined the banquet.

[2] This visit of George III, like that of Queen Anne, was in the middle of the

issued by the Delegates of Convocation for Her Majesty's Reception were similar to those issued in anticipation of King William's visit[1], and the delegates of Merton were the same. It is significant of the growing taste for music that musical performances now formed a regular part of the programme, and continued to be recognised in the public notices of the Encænia, as the solemnities of the University Act henceforth began to be called[2]. It is also to be remarked that while 'the galleries in the front' were always reserved for 'ladies and gentlewomen,' it was long the practice to reserve 'the side gallery westward' for 'the Cambridge men[3],' who, it must be presumed, were then in the habit of attending.

The Register of Merton contributes no record whatever of Queen Anne's visit, and a period of two and a-half years is represented there only by several blank pages, never since filled up. During this interval Dr. Lydall died, and was succeeded in 1704 by another M.D., Dr. Marten, who, however, only lived till 1709.

The rule of neither was in any way memorable, and a note-book apparently kept during the Wardenship of Holland, Marten's successor, contains the following pithy entry:— 'During the four years' administration of Dr. Marten, the major part of the Society seemed to have a greater regard for their own private interest than for the advancement of the College.' Oxford residents, however, may perhaps feel a

Long Vacation (August 26). Though it was Sunday, he received addresses in the Sheldonian Theatre and Council Chamber, but there were few besides graduates to welcome him. The next important Royal visit was that of the Allied Sovereigns in 1814.

[1] These had been copied with little alteration from those put forth on the occasion of Charles II's visit, and afterwards on that of the reception given to James, Duke of Ormond, as Chancellor.

[2] So far back as 1671 a Vice-Chancellor's notice was published to regulate exercises in the School of Music, whence it appears that 'the practical musick performed in this School on the Act Saturday, and other times, had been much disturbed by divers persons (men and women) pressing in within the rails.'

[3] This distribution of places, including the reservation of the side gallery westward for 'the Cambridge men,' is to be found in an official notice of 1669, issued by Vice-Chancellor Fell. In 1750 the reservation of places for 'the Cambridge men' seems to have been discontinued.

certain sympathy with the attention which, about this time, was bestowed on the College garden and adjoining promenades, known as 'Merton Walks.' Nearly a century earlier, Bishop Earle, then a Fellow of Merton, had contrasted the natural growth of the trees in Merton Garden, under the care of the old gardener, Thomas Hawkins, with the stiff Dutch clipping of trees then in vogue. The Grove, which must have been an outlying part of the garden, and which occupied the whole ground between Merton and Corpus, including the site of the new Merton buildings, was often the subject of dispute or negotiation between the two Colleges. In 1655, Corpus had obtained special leave to open windows facing Merton, but in 1701 a proposal from Corpus to buy or lease a portion of the Grove was decisively vetoed, after a warm discussion, by the Visitor of Merton. It seems that Warden Lydall had supported this proposal, and that a lease had actually been executed, but it was opposed by the Sub-Warden and ten other Fellows, including the two Bursars, the Senior Dean, and the Principal of the Postmasters. Some of the reasons submitted by the dissentients to the Visitor 'against the alienation of any part of the Grove' are curious and interesting. It is alleged that any encroachment on the Grove for the purposes intended by Corpus would in itself constitute a nuisance, and would further involve a diversion of the common sewer into a channel thirty or forty yards nearer to Merton, thereby spoiling 'an handsom square piece of ground called the Kitchen-Garden,' and rendering it unsuitable as a site for the erection of new College buildings. It is also urged that 'by the Inclosure, which Corpus Christi College intend to make under this lease, an handsome Gravel-Walk, with good and flourishing Elmes, convenient for the Students of our College, and much used by them, will become less usefull.' The memorialists allege, moreover, that alienation of College property is against Common, Statute, and Canon Law, adding that 'we find it amongst the Articles for which Dr. Rawlins, Warden of our

College, Anno 1521, was deprived by Archbishop Warham, that he had alienated certain of the College Lands, meaning some ground on which part of Corpus Christi College stands, which before that time was part of our College.' Nevertheless, in 1705, five trees in the Grove were cut down at the request of the Fellows of Corpus; and in 1709, when the new buildings of Corpus were erected, special leave was granted, but upon strict conditions, for the building materials to be carried in through Merton Grove. A similar permission was again granted to Corpus in 1740.

In the year 1705 the summer-house was built at the north-east corner of the garden, and in the year following the new 'solarium,' or terrace walk, 74 yards long, was made upon the town-wall[1], with the steps leading up to it, which seem then to have been in the middle, and not, as now, at the west end. Meanwhile, in 1696, Dr. Seymor gave £40 towards rebuilding the garden-wall towards Merton Street, and Warden Marten afterwards left £200 for the same purpose, but, for want of assets, the College never received above £90. In 1709 the south wall of the garden was ordered to be rebuilt. Mr. Wordsworth cites a somewhat disparaging description of Merton Gardens in 1710 from the pen of Zachary Conrad von Uffenbach. He admits that they were considered the finest in Oxford, but says they consist only of a grove and some dark low walks, with a poor pleasure-house. At all events they proved attractive enough to become the favourite resort of Oxford loungers, not of one sex only, especially on Sunday nights. We find in the Register several College orders of 1717, 1718, and 1719, directing the back gate of the College to be kept closed on Sundays, or at other times at the discretion of the garden master, in consequence of abuses and disorders which had thus arisen, and which had lately furnished the

[1] Anthony Wood however, describing a perambulation of St. John's parish, speaks of making a cross 'at the south-east corner of the City Wall, which includes the College Terrass and Garden.' There must, therefore, have been a terrace before the present one was raised.

subject of a poetical squib, entitled 'Merton Walks[1].' It may be added that in 1716 a part of the City Wall bounding the garden was rebuilt, and the walk underneath it, already known as 'Dead Man's Walk,' raised to a higher level. Nineteen years later, in 1729, the garden adjoining the *solarium* on the east, being probably that now (1885) occupied as a nursery garden, between the City Wall and Rose Lane, was purchased for £420[2]. We learn from the Rawlinson MSS. that in 1727 'Merton College back-gate that led into the fields was shut up, and another opened through the Grove.' This probably means that before that date strangers had been admitted by the postern communicating with the Fellows' Quadrangle, but were afterwards admitted by a gate corresponding with that through which the public foot-path now runs into Christ Church meadow. For it is tolerably clear from the evidence of ancient maps and plans that, in those days, the Grove and the Gardens formed parts of one continuous pleasure-ground. There must also have been a yew hedge on the South Terrace, for in 1743 it was ordered that it should be removed and a new turf laid down in place thereof, while yews were to be planted against the north wall of the garden, since fringed with horse-chestnuts. In 1754 and 1756 further changes were made in and about the Grove which are now difficult to interpret. However, there is a plain direction that the old wall bounding it southward should be pulled down, and 'a new parapet wall carried beyond the pump.' Four sycamores near the Chapel were to be cut down, and certain elms surrounding the Library cut down or lopped ('shrouded').

The election of Dr. Holland to the Wardenship in 1709 was only memorable for the fact that, in this case, the Visitor nominated the last-named of three candidates presented to him. His choice seems to have been justified by the event, for Holland (who had been Senior Proctor in 1700) proved a

[1] In 1722 the salary of the gardener was fixed at £20 a year, £16 for taking charge of the Fellows' garden and £4 for taking charge of the Warden's garden.

[2] Poynter however, writing in 1749, speaks as if the College garden, within the wall, had been thus enlarged.

careful and conscientious Head of the College[1]. Henceforth we find many entries in the Register, showing that discipline was strengthened, and the previous laxity of administration corrected. Thus, we have strict rules laid down for keeping the Bursar's accounts (1709), Injunctions from Archbishop Tenison regulating the election of College-officers, with other details of College administration (1710), and an order passed on the motion of the Warden (1711) directing that Gentlemen-Commoners shall bear their part with other Scholars in the ordinary Hall-disputations, and shall be marked in or out at Chapel like their humbler comrades. The Injunctions of Archbishop Tenison also redressed the grievances of certain Fellows who, having been elected five years before, had 'not been admitted to so much as an *annum probationis*,' but kept out of all their emoluments, in lieu of which the Visitor assigned to each a sum of £50, by way of *solatium*. In 1709, it was once more directed that, according to ancient custom, 'Bachelors' should cap Fellows in the College-quadrangle.

The Warden lost no time in moving the College to restore the old Disputations in Divinity, which had fallen into abeyance, but he did not succeed in carrying his point until 1714. He was equally unsuccessful at first in inducing the College to increase the number of Fellows, which in 1712 had sunk to seventeen. In that year, however, five new Fellows were elected, as we are told, after a full examination beginning with a 'theme,' and including two days of book-work in Homer, Xenophon, Lucian, Tacitus, and Horace; after which an interval of three days was allowed before the election[2]. Again, in 1716, when six Fellows were elected out of sixteen candidates, the examination lasted two days, but the subjects are not specified. In this year one of the ever-recurring

[1] For instance, in 1725, when it was proposed to divide among the Warden and Fellows a sum of money realised by the sale of timber, we find Holland dissenting.

[2] The regular Fellowship examination of Holland's time seems to mark an advance in academical sentiment since 1693, when, as we have seen, Peter Wood was rejected, 'as 'twas said, because he was too precise and religious, and therefore not fit to make a society man.'

disputes about the ability of the College to maintain an increased number of Fellows had been referred to Archbishop Wake, who decided that the College should never have more than five vacancies unfilled, or elect more than three at one time. In 1717 there was another election, of four Fellows, when the subjects of examination were much the same as in 1712, but the examination seems to have been crowded into one day. In 1727 the full number of twenty-four Fellows was completed. Four years later (1731) three very salutary rules for the conduct of College meetings were placed on record in the Register:—that no resolution of the College should be rescinded by a smaller number than had passed it; that no meeting of less than ten should make grants of money exceeding £2; and that it should be the duty of the Sub-Warden to enter the names of those present at College meetings, and keep minutes of the business transacted[1].

During the Wardenship of Holland, we find many traces in the Register of a growing regard for comfort in the arrangements of the College. We have, for example, a series of orders permitting Fellows to decorate and panel their rooms, at their own expense, on condition of leaving them in good repair, or else directing repairs to be made at the College expense, on condition of an annual rent being charged to cover repayment. In 1721, £14 was voted for a marble chimney-piece in the Common Room[2]. In 1725, the dinner-hour was changed from twelve to one—then a luxurious hour for the midday meal[3]—but it was soon changed

[1] In 1717 the number of Postmasters was fixed at thirteen.

[2] In 1760, a fire-grate 'with proper furniture' was ordered to be purchased for the Common Room, and in the same year the private staircase was made, leading up to the Library and Librarian's chamber.

[3] In a contemporary description of the 'Oxford Smart' in 1721, cited by Mr. C. Wordsworth, he is described as dining privately in his own rooms at one, having lounged away the regular and suitable dinner-hour (twelve) 'upon the Park, or under Merton Wall.'

In 1720 a College order was passed at Merton forbidding any one to have dinner cooked at the kitchen after noon without the Dean's permission.

back again to noon, chiefly because a one o'clock dinner was found to interfere with church-services on Sundays, and with exercises in the Schools on other days[1]. In 1726 (November 25) it was ordered that lamps should be placed in and about the College at night. In 1720 an order was made for holding the College Gaudy on August 1, but it must have been on a humble scale, for it was provided that no more than £3 10*s.* was to be spent on it by the College, besides 2*s.* 6*d.* to be charged against each Fellow, and the allowance of wine was limited. In 1728 the Bursar was specially empowered to furnish a sumptuous repast, '*lautæ epulæ*,' on the Coronation Day of George II. Again, in 1732, rules were passed for reducing the dinner expenses on College feast-days. Notwithstanding the economical spirit which dictated such rules, it may be doubted whether the finances of the College were very prudently administered, if we may judge by the fact of considerable sums having been invested in South Sea Stock, under orders of 1719, and even of 1722, when the bubble must have been on the very eve of bursting[2]. On the other hand, the College deserves credit for voting £10, in 1730, towards procuring an Act of Parliament for cheapening the water-carriage between Oxford and London, just four years after the great London road began to be improved by cutting down the steep incline of Headington Hill.

An interesting collection of papers relating to stage coaches and carriers between Oxford and London is preserved in the Warden's Library at Merton. Anthony Wood mentions having made two journeys to London on the earliest of the flying coaches, as they were called, but we here possess a still more authentic record of their introduction, and the times which they were bound to keep. The first notice of them is a

[1] In 1795 the dinner hour was fixed at four.

[2] So little was antique plate valued in those days that, about this time, the old spoons and salt-cellars were ordered to be exchanged for new.

Mr. Hankey, a goldsmith, seems to have acted as the College banker about 1720.

In January, 1729, £70 more was ordered to be invested in 'South Sea Annuities.'

Vice-Chancellor's order, dated July 20, 1670, reciting that Edward Bartlet had presumed to set up a flying coach to London, without a licence from him, and forbidding members of the University to make use of it. The second, dated February 13, 1671, contains a similar denunciation of a coach set up by Thomas Dye and John Fosset, in contempt of the University, which, as it is there alleged, has the exclusive right of governing all carriers trading with the University and City of Oxford. The next, dated April 19, 1672, sets forth that Thomas Moore and Edward Bartlet junior, licensed carriers of the University, have 'undertaken to provide sufficient coaches and horses for the conveyance of passengers between the University and the City of London, which shall in one day commodiously perform the whole journey during the summer half-year, (that is to say from the 29th of April until Michaelmas ensuing).' It proceeds to ordain that the coach proprietors shall not exact above ten shillings for each passenger, with his necessaries, not exceeding six pounds in weight; that the coaches shall 'before six of the clock in the morning be ready, every day in the week, over against Alsouls Colledge in Oxford, and at the signe of the Swan at Holborn Bridge, on Mundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and at the Sarasen's Head without Newgate, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; and immediately upon the striking of the clock of St. Marie's in Oxon, and St. Sepulcher's, London, begin their journey.' There are further rules to prevent favouritism in the disposal of seats; and it is provided that these orders shall not 'concern those coaches which shall, as formerly, perform their journey in part of two days.' A fourth Ordinance, dated December 4, 1674, and referring to previous Orders of 1666, specially regulates the carriage of goods and letters by waggons and 'ordinary stage-coaches,' as distinct from the flying coaches. The same fare of four shillings is to be charged for the conveyance by waggon of a passenger or one cwt. of goods. It proceeds to prescribe that 'all letters directed to Scholars shall be left at the Butteries of their

respective Colleges or Halls; and, for the delivery of every such letter, shall be given onely one half-penny loaf, as was accustomed[1].' All ordinary stage-coaches, making the journey in two days, are to leave Oxford at nine by St. Mary's clock, and, in starting from London, to pass St. Giles's Church at the same hour. Other Orders were evidently issued from time to time, and it appears from one dated February 23, 1727, that although four stage-coach-keepers were then licensed, the pace had not been improved. The journey was made in one day between Lady Day and Michaelmas, and in two days between Michaelmas and Lady Day, but it was specially provided that notice should be given, 'if Mr. Vice-Chancellor for the time being should think fit to lengthen the time of flying.' In 1730, two coaches ran each way every day in the week, but two days were still required for the journey in winter. Both were to set out from Oxford and London, respectively, exactly at four in the morning, and the reason given is significant—'so that the two coaches may travel together every journey, if possible, for the greater safety of passengers, and for the preventing of any Surprize.' The fare continued to be ten shillings, but fourteen pounds of luggage was allowed to go free, while 'Servants at Top and Children in Lap' were charged half-price. An advertisement of 1738, headed by a rude wood-cut of a coach and horses, announces that John Bew's coach will leave Oxford at six during the winter-season, and reach London 'the next day by dinner.' It also states that 'by-coaches, Chariots, a Hearse and Mourning coaches, and Saddle horses, to any part of England,' may be hired of Mr. Bew. A similar advertisement, but undated, of 'Ward's Oxford Flying Stage Waggons' represents some advance in the goods traffic, since a waggon starting from Oxford at two o'clock on Monday morning is there advertised to go and return, unloading and reloading in London, so as to deliver goods in Oxford on Thursday.

[1] It is added that 'if any carriage (probably = parcel) comes with a letter, nothing shall be given for the bringing of that letter.'

Some light is thrown on the social condition of the University during this period by a curious pamphlet bearing date 1733, and entitled 'The Expense of University Education reduced, in a Letter to A. B., Fellow of E. C."—doubtless Exeter College[1]. The chief abuse against which the author protests is the practice of getting dinners served from the College kitchen at all hours for parties in private rooms. He therefore recommends that nothing but commons be allowed to be dressed in the kitchen, and that no ale whatever be kept in the College cellar, so that Fellows may not be constantly drawing supplies from the Buttery—evidently without paying for them—to regale 'every trivial acquaintance who has a mind to take Oxford and Blenheim on his way to the Bath,' or to console servants for the cuffs and kicks which, as he assumes, their young masters were constantly giving them. There are few College servants, he says, who 'are not crippled with the gout or dropsy at an age which should be vigorous.' He speaks of Fellowships as bringing in a nominal income of £40 a year, but as being worth only £20 to a 'sequestrator.' He maintains that recipients of a Founder's bounty have no business to act like men of large fortunes. 'Each Scholar,' he continues, 'hath his separate apartment. The furniture of it is supposed to be no other than that of a lodger in a private family, who never eats at home—clean, neat, simple, not unsuitable to his low condition in the world, and convenient only for the purposes of study, retirement, and sleep.' It is clear that private stores of wine must then have been rare, for he treats its introduction as a novelty, and he even advises that ale be never drunk in the morning or at meals, but only in the evening during conversation, when men generally send for it into the town. On the whole, the picture which he presents of College life is by no means suggestive of such expenditure as would nowadays be thought extravagant, but

[1] Mr. Wordsworth ('University Life in the Eighteenth Century') gives 1727 as the original date of this pamphlet, and identifies its author as Dr. Richard Newton of Hart Hall.

rather of a rude hospitality proper to country gentlemen of that day, though hardly befitting the means of a poor student [1].

It is not very easy to discover how sensible undergraduates of Merton and other Colleges amused themselves in days before cricket was developed, and when neither boat-racing nor athletic sports had become national pastimes. We know that in earlier times poaching in the forests which then stretched north and south of Oxford, over Shotover and Boarstall, Cumnor and Bagley, was an occasional diversion of Oxford students. Games of ball were no doubt always played, and Merton had its ball-court, perhaps until the eighteenth century, at the west end of the Chapel. A satirical paper attributed to Thomas Warton, the poet laureate, who flourished at Oxford from 1751 to 1790, speaks of no less than three tennis courts, together with billiard tables, nine-pin and skittle alleys, as frequented by the Academical youth. The author also alludes to boating on the Isis, 'gunnery on the adjacent hills,' phaeton-driving, and 'horsemanship on Port Meadow, Bullingdon Green, the Henley, Wycombe, Woodstock, Banbury, and Abingdon Roads.' Mr. Wordsworth, in his 'University Society in the Eighteenth Century,' has collected some curious particulars of the same kind. Some Oxford verses of 1667 refer to 'swimming in Merton Pool and Schollars Pool,' 'tumbling in the Hay,' leaping, wrestling, playing at quoits, and fishing; but the Oxford 'men' of those days would now be called boys. Horsemanship, tilting, archery, bell-ringing, gymnastics, fives, and skittles are mentioned as more or less favourite exercises some two generations later [2]. In a notice issued by the Vice-

[1] Mr. Boase, in the Preface to his Register of Exeter College, cites a French traveller who, writing in the early part of the eighteenth century, describes the Colleges, with truly French exaggeration, as 'palaces to be compared with the Tuileries, occupied by rich idlers who sleep and get drunk one part of the day; and the rest they spend in training, clumsily enough, a parcel of uncouth lads to be clergymen.'

[2] In certain Regulations issued by the Chancellor of Cambridge in 1750, and preserved in Mr. Wordsworth's 'University Society in the Eighteenth Century,' we

Chancellor of Oxford in 1733, scholars are forbidden 'to have Dogs, Guns, or Nets, for the destroying of Game, to the injury of others, and the loss of their own time.' It is to be feared, however, that manly exercises were less popular than such recreations as cock-fighting and bull-baiting. Mr. Wordsworth remarks that in the last century 'there was a want of vigour and falling-off from the days of the Book of Sports, from the trials of strength in the merry England of good Queen Bess, and from the long-bow of our more distant ancestors.' Dr. Rawlinson alludes to bull-baiting at Headington in 1727, and in 1739 the Vice-Chancellor issued a special proclamation forbidding all persons 'to keep or to frequent any cockpit, or to beat any drum, calling to such unlawful game,' within the precincts of the University or City.

In the meantime, repeated notices of the same kind show how constantly taverns were multiplied, and how seriously they corrupted the manners of students. So far back as 1669, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford had thought it necessary to issue a warning against resorting to taverns after Disputations in the Schools. Anthony Wood's and Hearne's Diaries are full of complaints against the growing habit of drinking in taverns; but the former is almost equally severe upon coffee-houses, the rise of which in Oxford he specially notices. The first, he says, was opened by one Jacob, a Jew, at the Angel in 1650, and in 1654 Jobson, another 'Jew and Jacobite,' sold coffee in a house 'between Edmund Hall and Queen's College corner.' In 1655, Arthur Tillyard, 'an apothecary and great Royalist,' kept another coffee-house opposite All Souls, which became a resort of Royalist wits, including Sir Christopher Wren; and twenty years later Wood laments the habit of frequenting coffee-houses after drinking-parties. At a later period, Horseman's coffee-house in High Street was much patronised by Mertonians. But the Uni-

find prohibitions of guns, sporting dogs, dice, &c., and restrictions laid upon frequenting tennis-courts, cricket-grounds, taverns, or coffee-houses.

versity authorities wisely reserved their denunciations for taverns. In 1728, a notice was issued by the Vice-Chancellor, after a meeting of Heads of Houses and Proctors, notifying that, whereas the Mayor and City magistrates persist in licensing an excessive number of public-houses without the consent of the University, the laws of the land and University statutes will be put in force against any public-house keepers who fail to keep good order. In 1740, another Vice-Chancellor's notice, or 'Programma,' recited that by ancient charters, statutes, &c., the number of vintners or sellers of wine within the precincts of the University was limited to three, all of whom must be licensed by the Vice-Chancellor. It proceeded to allege that divers other persons had assumed the same right, thereby contributing to destroy the health and corrupt the morals of students, and threatened them with prosecution. Another manifesto from the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, in 1746, enjoins the 'Masters of the Streets,' who then acted as Pro-Proctors, as well as the College authorities, 'to discourage all private entertainments at improper times, and to oblige all persons to attend in the Common Hall at the usual hours of Dinner and Supper.'

A great variety of other notices relating to matters of discipline were put forth by the same body during the early part of the eighteenth century. The majority of these purport to regulate Academical costume, to which much greater importance was then attributed than is now easy to understand. One of 1690 may serve as a specimen of the rest. It begins with eight rules prescribing the exact shape of gowns to be worn by the several orders of students. Commoners' gowns are to be distinguished from those of servitors and 'battelars' 'by having half-a-dozen of buttons on each sleeve, not exceeding the price of five shillings the dozen, nor the bigness in the publick pattern.' Gentlemen Commoners are to wear a half-sleeved gown, which may have four dozen buttons upon it. Bachelors and Scholars of Colleges are to wear wide-sleeved gowns, 'the bachelors' sleeves to hang at length,'

the scholars' 'turned up to the wrist,' but neither to be 'above an ell in compass.' The rules for caps are equally minute. Gentlemen Commoners are to wear round caps like all other undergraduates, but encircled with 'a hat-band;' noblemen and other titled undergraduates are to have velvet caps 'with silver or gold hat-bands,' but apparently without tufts. Another order of 1733 specially prohibits any commoner from wearing a square cap, 'except those who are authorised to do so,' and contains a peremptory warning against wearing 'hats, much more hats buttoned up, crevatts, and bands commonly called crevatt-bands or falling bands.' More serious temptations of youth, however, were not overlooked. For instance, a stringent order of June 23, 1701, repeating one of 1663, forbids tradespeople and others to give undergraduates credit for any sum above five shillings on pain of being 'discommoned,' or even imprisoned. Another of December 2, 1728, calls upon College Tutors to redouble their diligence in fortifying their pupils with a thorough knowledge of Christian doctrines and principles, so as to counteract the impious designs of 'wicked advocates for pretended humane reason against Divine Revelation' who had lately invaded the University. A few years later we have warnings against street disturbances, unruly behaviour at the Assizes, and so forth. But the worst breach of discipline here recorded occurred on the 9th of March, 1750, when—to borrow the indignant words of the Vice-Chancellor's notice—'a most notorious insult was offered to one of the Senior Proctors in the execution of his office, by a person throwing at him a large stone, whereby he received a violent blow on the head.' A subsequent notice mentions the detection of the offenders, and the remission of the extreme sentence upon them, in consideration of extenuating circumstances.

Notwithstanding their chronic rebellion against University authority, the undergraduates in the reign of Queen Anne and the first Georges seem to have been heartily united with the Dons in political sentiment. The Protestant succession once secured, all the latent Jacobitism of the University broke forth

without disguise. Burnet complains that some of the Heads who had actually signed the 'Association,' or profession of loyalty to King William, 'being disappointed in the preferments they aspired to, became afterwards his most implacable enemies.' Writing of the year 1704, he complains bitterly of the clerical Toryism and ecclesiastical bigotry which then prevailed at Oxford. 'The Universities,' he says, 'Oxford especially, have been very unhappily successful in corrupting the principles of those who were sent to be bred amongst them.' Hearne, writing on September 2, 1705, notices a Thanksgiving Sermon preached by a Mr. Evans of St. John's, a clergyman of doubtful character, of which Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, said, 'that he was very glad there was one even in Oxford that would speak for King William.' He adds, three days later, that Evans had talked mightily of publishing this sermon, but that 'here is none in Oxford will print a thing so scandalously partial against the Church of England.' No sooner did Queen Anne disavow her Whig advisers, and place herself openly under Tory influences, than Oxford reverted to its old allegiance, and, had it retained its old place in national politics, the Hanoverian succession would have encountered a still more formidable opposition. It is almost needless to quote the well-known lines in which George I's method of dealing with Oxford Toryism is contrasted with his present of a library to Cambridge[1]; but there can be little doubt that he wisely abstained from visiting this University. A valuable body of evidence on this subject has been collected by Mr. Christopher Wordsworth, of which it is enough to note the enthusiastic reception of Dr. Sacheverell, and a famous riot in 1715, when the Constitution Club was attacked by a mob of students. This Constitution Club, as its name implied, was a Whig body, which met at the King's Head Tavern in High

[1] 'The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force;
With equal skill to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs admit no force but argument.'

Street, and we learn from Amherst's *Terræ Filius* that Merton contributed at least one member. This may have been Charnock, a Gentleman-Commoner, but was probably Meadowcourt, who was elected a Fellow in that year, and who in the following year was Steward of the Club, when Holt, the Junior Proctor, broke in upon one of their meetings. The scene which followed is described in Jeaffreson's Annals of Oxford. A mob of Tory gownsmen was shouting outside, while Holt was remonstrating with the members of the Constitution Club, then engaged in drinking with the officers of Colonel Handyside's regiment. Meadowcourt was equal to the occasion, and ultimately succeeded in inducing the Proctor to drink King George's health with the party. Shortly afterwards, however, the following entry appeared in the 'University Black Book:' 'Let Mr. Meadowcourt, of Merton College, be kept back from the degree for which he next stands, for the space of two years; nor be admitted to supplicate for his grace until he confesses his manifold crimes, and asks pardon upon his knees.' Meadowcourt contrived to escape this humiliating penalty by an evasive plea in the Chancellor's Court, and some years later (1719) distinguished himself by actually bringing the disloyalty of the University authorities under the notice of the Government, from whom he duly received a letter of thanks for his zeal.

We have no right to assume that, in these demonstrations, Meadowcourt represented his College, of which, however, he long continued to be a leading and honoured member, filling the highest College offices. Nor can we lay much stress on the fact that Moseley, a Merton Fellow of the same year, was rejected at the High Borlace, the fashionable Tory Club of Oxford; or upon Hearne's statement that Bishop Burnet's son, late of Merton, was a leader of the London Mohocks, to whom he attributes Whig principles; or upon the nickname of 'Lollards' applied to Mertonians by the *Terræ Filius*. But there can be little doubt that Merton was regarded as supporting the Whig side in the new constitutional struggle,

and Charles Wesley expressly mentions it with Exeter, Christ Church, and Wadham, as an anti-Jacobite society. We may suppose that it maintained this character at the University election of 1750, when a vast majority of the Christ Church and Merton votes, with all the Wadham and Exeter votes, were given for Mr. Harley against Sir Roger Newdigate and Sir E. Turner. It took part, naturally, with other Colleges in the enthusiastic reception accorded by the University in 1734 to the Prince of Orange, who came to marry the Princess Anne. On this occasion, a number of Pro-Proctors were appointed, and all the most solemn preparations for a Royal visit were made in prospect of his appearance in the Theatre, where he received a D.C.L. degree, with all his retinue, and was 'mightily *hummed* at his entrance and exit.' The City shared in these festivities, conferring its freedom upon him at the North gate on his return from Blenheim, while bell-ringing, illuminations, and bonfires were kept up for three nights together. This fervour of loyalty is not easy to reconcile with the fact, mentioned by Lord Hervey, that after the rejection of the Excise Bill in 1733, town and gown united in boisterous revels for three nights together, when the healths of Ormond, Bolingbroke, and James the Third were publicly drunk round the bonfires. Smollett mentions that, in 1748, three Oxford students were sentenced by the Court of Queen's Bench to be imprisoned for two years, and 'walk through the Courts of Westminster with a specification of their crime affixed to their foreheads,' for having toasted the Pretender; and, about the same time, a congratulatory address from the University was rejected with disdain, as coming from a notorious hotbed of Jacobitism. Again, in 1754, Pitt attacked Oxford Jacobitism in the House of Commons, and we learn from Lord Shelbourne's autobiography that in the same year Dr. King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, elicited rounds of applause from the whole audience in the Sheldonian Theatre, filled with Peers, Members of Parliament, and country gentlemen, by thrice pausing upon the word 'Redeat,' purposely

introduced into his speech. At the county election in the following year (1755), a Tory and Jacobite mob, guarding the approaches to the polling-booths in Broad Street for days together, prevented the Whigs from giving their votes. In 1759, Lord Westmoreland, who had actually commanded George I's famous troop of horse, but had afterwards turned Jacobite out of resentment against Sir Robert Walpole, was selected by the University as its Chancellor.

The intellectual life of Merton could hardly be otherwise than sluggish in the first half of the eighteenth century. The impulse given to Academical culture by the new learning of the Renaissance had died away as completely as that supplied by the old scholastic learning of the Middle Ages. If, as some high authorities maintain, the present scarcity of genius amongst us is mainly due to our being harassed by examinations and distracted by external interests, then Oxford under Queen Anne and the first Georges ought to have been a paradise of what is now called 'mature study and original research,' for, as we are informed in the official 'Honours Register' of the University, 'the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Arts was little better than a mockery,' and there was no Honours List at all. Unhappily, the facts are against this comfortable theory. The Revolution of 1689 ushered in a long period of repose, but it did little or nothing to revive education and learning in the University of Oxford. The three generations which succeeded it were probably in this respect the least eventful, and the least creditable, in our Academical history. Dean Prideaux, who had long resided at Oxford, writing from Norfolk in 1691, professes 'an unconquerable aversion to the place,' apparently founded in some degree on his impatience of Jacobite ascendancy in the University, but partly also on his conviction of its degeneracy. Exeter, he says, is totally spoiled and worse than Christ Church—'nothing but drinking and duncery.' Mr. Boase, who candidly quotes this expression in his 'Register of Exeter College,' goes on to point out that, besides stray hits at

Oxford morals in Tom Jones and the Spectator, 'we have the evidence of such different kinds of men as Swift, Defoe, Gray, Gibbon, Johnson, John Wesley, Lord Eldon, and Lord Chesterfield, all agreeing in this point, that both the great Universities were neglectful and inefficient in the performance of their proper work.' The complaints made by Anthony Wood against the ruling powers of Oxford during the period succeeding the Reformation are echoed by Hearne, who lived during the period succeeding the Revolution, and seems to have inherited the bitter pessimism of his master[1]. He declares, in 1726, that in nearly all the Colleges the Fellows are busied in litigation and quarrels having no connexion with the promotion of learning, and that 'good letters miserably decay every day, insomuch that this ordination on Trinity Sunday at Oxford there were no fewer (as I am informed) than fifteen denied Orders for insufficiency—which is the more to be noted because our Bishops and those employed by them are themselves generally illiterate men.' At the same time, it is but fair to observe that the existence of good tutors at Oxford is admitted by Johnson[2], and even by Gibbon, who became a Gentleman Commoner of Magdalen in his fifteenth year, and was constantly making it the starting-point of pleasure excursions. Mr. Wordsworth in his 'Scholæ Academicæ' enumerates some 250 editions of ancient (or modern) classics published in Oxford during the fifty years beginning with 1701, and there are not wanting proofs of architectural, as well as literary, activity during this period of Academical

[1] He commemorates, however, the so-called 'Golden Election' at Merton in 1705, when eight Fellows were elected at once, of whom seven were already members of the College, and one (Wyntle) from Pembroke. All those elected, he says, were excellent scholars. He mentions that one rejected candidate, Mr. Tanner of Queen's, 'took his being put by very chearfully, and paid his Respects afterwards to the Fellows, whereas the rest, who mist coming in, sneaked away, and seemed to resent it.'

[2] Speaking of Oxford in 1768, Johnson said, 'There is here, Sir, such a progressive emulation. The students are anxious to appear well to their tutors; the tutors are anxious to have their pupils appear well in the College; the Colleges are anxious to have their students appear well in the University; and there are excellent rules of discipline in every College.'

stagnation. Early in the century we find new buildings rising at Corpus, Queen's, and Oriel; the Codrington Library at All Souls, the new Library and Peckwater Quadrangle at Christ Church, being also in course of erection. The first stone of the Radcliffe Library was laid in 1736, all the houses in Cat Street, north of St. Mary's, having been demolished to make room for it. It was opened for the use of students on April 13, 1749, after 'a two days' solemnity,' including a Public Act, and a concert managed by Handel. On April 14 Handel's 'Sampson' was performed in the Theatre, and the concourse of nobility, gentry, and graduates assembled on this occasion was said to be the greatest ever known. It was not, however, the first visit of Handel to Oxford, for in 1733, when there was a Public Act lasting three days[1], the great composer had the use of the Theatre for six evenings to perform his Oratorios, and was believed to have realised over £2000.

We have already observed the efforts made by Holland to keep up the wholesome rules of Merton discipline, and though it must be admitted that few great names occur among the Fellows of Merton in the eighteenth century, the College was not wholly unfaithful to its ancient traditions. At least, five bishops of the eighteenth century were educated at Merton: Gilbert, who died Archbishop of York in 1763; Downes, who died Bishop of Raphoe in the same year; Hume and Shute Barrington, successively Bishops of Salisbury, from which see Barrington was promoted to Durham; and Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield. When George I founded the Professorship of Modern History and Modern Languages in 1724, Walter Franks of Merton was one of those placed on the so-called 'Establishment' for introducing the new study.

[1] This Act is stated in the Rawlinson MSS. to have been the first performed since 1713, when the Peace of Utrecht was celebrated. The others mentioned by Rawlinson were in 1661, 1664, 1680, 1693, 1702, on the occasion of Queen Anne's visit, 1703, 1704, to commemorate the victory of Blenheim, 1706, on the celebration of Frankfort University, and 1707, on the reception of an Armenian Archbishop. This list is clearly incorrect, since it misdates the opening of the Theatre, and omits the Public Act of 1669, when it was solemnly dedicated to the University, as well as those of 1672 and 1675.

Sir Richard Steele, who had been a very popular Postmaster during his residence at Merton (1691–4[1]), and who presented the College Library with a copy of his 'Tatler' in 1712[2], speaks of Oxford as a nursery of wit, if not of learning[3]. The culture of wit, rather than of learning, must have been promoted by the ancient practice of 'Variations' which is described among the special customs of Merton by John Poynter, in a little work on the Curiosities of Oxford published in 1749. 'The Master-Fellows,' he says, 'are obliged by their Statutes to take their turns, every year about the Act Time, or at least before the first day of August, to vary, as they call it, that is, to perform some public exercise in the Common Hall, the Variator opposing Aristotle in three Latin speeches, upon three questions in Philosophy, or rather Morality; the three Deans in their turns answering the Variator in three speeches in opposition to his, and in defence of his Aristotle, and after every speech, disputing with him syllogistically upon the same. Which Declamations and Disputations were amicably concluded with a magnificent and expensive supper, the charges of which formerly came to £100, but of late years much retrenched. The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, and several Heads of Houses, besides the Warden and the whole College, made up the audience at this solemn time.' A fuller account of the Merton 'Variations' is given by Kilner, Bursar of the College in the middle of the eighteenth century, and we find in the Register two entries of fines inflicted on Fellows, in 1746 and 1748, for neglect of their 'Variators' exercise[4].'

[1] Steele's name first occurs in the Postmasters' buttery-accounts of August, 1691. There is no record of the date of his election.

[2] The College Register, in acknowledging the gift, records the following eulogy on the Tatler and its author: '*In eo tam amico fœdere coeunt seria, jocosa, sensuum* (sic) *pondus, et sermonis nitor, ut tanti ingenii altrices hæ ædes alumno suo merito exultent, quem universa Britannia jamdudum habuit in deliciis.*'

[3] Steele left Oxford without a degree, but 'with the love of the whole society;' after writing a comedy, which he afterwards burned on the advice of a candid friend.

[4] In 1698, Dr. Bateman, the Senior Fellow, had founded a Mathematical Lectureship in the College.

These Variations, and other College exercises, were evidently the substitute for effective University examinations.

The death of Warden Holland, in 1733, ushered in a period of discord and dissension which at last called for the decisive intervention of Archbishop Potter. Out of three names submitted to him as Visitor, two were those of M.D.'s, one of whom, Dr. Wyntle, obtained the nomination. He soon began to squabble with the College over the old questions of household expenditure and allowances, and the Visitor was constantly worried by appeals from him and the Fellows. In the course of these disputes, the jurisdiction of the Visitor over the College was openly challenged by Dr. Marten, one of the Fellows, and solemnly affirmed by the Court of Queen's Bench. In 1737, the Warden and Fellows referred to him all their differences, and the Injunctions then issued, after due enquiry before Commissioners, are a valuable commentary on College life at Merton in the eighteenth century. The Warden and Fellows were ordered to attend regularly at Morning and Evening Service in Chapel. Three stated Capitular Meetings were to be held, and new bylaws were only to be passed by a quorum consisting of the Warden and eight or ten Seniors. All vacant Fellowships were to be filled without delay, and not above five Fellows, at most, were to be excused from studying Divinity[1]. Residence was to be strictly enforced, and a book kept registering the duration of each absence. No Fellow was to go away at all without the leave of the Warden or Sub-Warden; absence for above four months in one year was to be granted only by the Warden and Seniors, absence for above six months only by the Visitor himself. The College gates were to be closed at half-past nine. No Fellow or other member of the College was afterwards to enter except by the principal gate, and the Warden was empowered to put such keys on the others as he might think proper. 'Every Fellow and other Scholar' was to have

[1] In 1752, however, the Visitor ordained that Fellowship-elections should not be held until three Fellowships should be vacant. The number of twenty-four Fellows seems to have been approximately maintained. Thus, in 1745, there were twenty Fellows, and four Probationers; in 1753, twenty-one Fellows, and three Probationers.

both dinner and supper in Hall, unless excused by the Warden or Sub-Warden[1]. Divinity Disputations were to be regularly performed by all who had taken their B.A. degree. In dealing with offences, the six or seven resident Seniors were to be the Warden's assessors; and the Bursars, as well as the Deans, were to be 'assistant and subordinate' to him. Two keys of the Treasury were to be kept, the one by the Warden, the other by the Sub-Warden. At the same time, a settlement was made of the Warden's allowances—so often the subject of undignified dispute—including items for clothes, washing, and servants' wages, besides the keep of two horses. It is remarkable that, during this Visitation, three of the Fellows absented themselves by reason of small-pox, one because he was actually ill of it, another because he was but just recovering from it, and a third because he dared not come out of his chamber for fear of it. The Porter, also, was excused from attendance, being forbidden to come into College, because several of his family had small-pox. At least seven of those buried in the College Chapel between the Restoration and 1720 are recorded to have died of this complaint.

The general impression derived from a perusal of Archbishop Potter's Injunctions, and of other entries in the College Register, is hardly in accordance with the prevalent belief that College-discipline was universally relaxed in that age. Indeed, we might infer the very contrary from the stringent rules passed in 1745 for the behaviour of Bachelor Fellows—that they should always uncover their heads in the presence of Master Fellows within the College precincts, should not be seen in the kitchen, or leave their tables in Hall without leave, or approach the fire while any Master Fellow should remain in Hall, and should be excluded from the Library and the Garden. On the other hand, we find that, in spite of Archbishop Potter's Injunctions, further altercations

[1] In 1763, owing to the rise in the price of provisions, three shillings a day were added to the allowance for the Fellows' table. A similar addition of three shillings was made in 1790.

soon broke out between the Warden and Fellows, chiefly arising from the claim of the former to veto the election of Probationers and to limit the business at Capitular Meetings. The Visitor showed much prudence in declining to exercise a formal jurisdiction on minute details, but informally checked the Warden's pretensions, and in 1740 reprimanded him severely for converting to his own use £100 placed in his hands for College purposes[1]. In the same year an appeal was lodged with the Archbishop by Mr. Trollope, B.A., of Merton, and lately a candidate for a Merton Fellowship, who alleged that, inasmuch as his only competitor was ineligible by virtue of being in Holy Orders, he was absolutely entitled to election. The Visitor, however, declared 'the pretended elections' of both candidates to be null and void, and ordered a new election to be held. This was done accordingly, and the Fellowship was awarded to George Hamilton, third son of the Earl of Abercorn. Happily, the accession of Robinson in 1751, on the death of Wyntle, restored comparative harmony to Merton College, which continued to prevail under his successor, Barton, elected in 1759.

In reviewing the College history between the Revolution and the accession of George III, we cannot fail to be struck by its comparative tameness, which is faithfully reflected in the scanty entries—varied by occasional blanks—of the College Register. It is clear that, unlike All Souls, Merton was never seriously agitated by the fierce controversial spirit which prevailed both in London and Oxford under Queen Anne and the first Georges. The conflicts between the Warden and Fellows turned on matters of purely internal interest, and the Whig partisanship of certain leading Fellows has left no trace on the public chronicle of the College, which is chiefly occupied with elections of College-officers, presentations to livings, and questions of domestic management. With the accession

[1] It is a proof of some laxity in College discipline that in 1746 and 1747 two Fellowship elections had to be adjourned (one of them twice) on account of less than thirteen Fellows being present.

of George III, the history of Merton, like that of Oxford, gradually loses even its antiquarian interest, and glides placidly into the familiar stream of modern Academical life. That event, as Mr. Boase remarks, practically effaced Jacobite sentiment, and the loyal type of Toryism which succeeded it met with little opposition at Oxford. Indeed, this University had ceased to be an important centre of political opinion, or even of educational activity. The annual number of matriculations, which had often exceeded 300 in the first quarter of the century, never reached that modest total between 1726 and 1810, while it often fell below 200 in the middle of the century. Oxford continued, of course, to produce scholars and gentlemen, of whom Merton contributed a fair proportion; but it was distanced in learning by Cambridge, where the examination system was developed earlier, and the real intellectual leadership of the country was transferred from both to London. The old mediæval couplet which described Oxford as the gathering-ground of political storms destined to sweep over the nation had been amply verified in the generation which preceded the Reformation and the Civil Wars, but it was true no longer. Except Methodism, the great movements of thought which underlay the artificial society of the eighteenth century had no connexion with the University, and the minds which dominated the world of politics and literature were trained in a wholly different school. The literary sterility of Oxford during the reign of George III may have been overstated, but we can hardly overstate its failure to keep pace with the progressive ideas of this memorable age. Not until the English gentry had recovered from the effects of the French war and the consequent reaction, was the University roused from its ignoble lethargy by that great revival, so fruitful in religious, political, and speculative energy, of which the origin is still within living memory, and of which the force is very far indeed from being yet exhausted.

Part II.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

WARDENS OF MERTON COLLEGE.

1. **Peter of Abendon** or **Abyndon**, alias Laking (**1272–1286**). He is mentioned in all the Catalogues as the first Warden of Merton, and as having held office from the last year of Henry III's reign to the fourteenth year of Edward I's reign. According to Anthony Wood, he was appointed to this office, some five years earlier, about 1267, when, as Wood supposed, the College was transferred from Maldon to Oxford. Kilner states that Peter de Abendon is styled Warden of the House of the Scholars of Merton in a Fine dated 1266, and Warden of the House of Maldon in two instruments dated 1269 'to be found in the Dodington evidences.' Bishop Hobhouse, however, gives strong reasons for believing that, although Walter de Merton had completed his preparations for the settlement of his whole society at Oxford by the year 1267, the settlement itself was not finally effected until 1274[1]. We may infer that Peter de Abendon, having presided over the parent establishment at Maldon, sometimes called the House of Maldon, and sometimes the House of the Scholars of Merton, accompanied the members of it when they emigrated

[1] The important steps in the foundation of Merton are recorded in the following order by Bishop Hobhouse:—

1264. The earliest extant statutes, with royal charter.

1265–7. The acquisition by the Founder of various houses on the site of the present College, as well as of the rectories of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter's-in-the-East, with a right of enclosing the space between St. John's Church and the City Walls, and a license empowering him to cut a canal from the Cherwell to a spot near the *domus* of St. Frideswide's, *ad emundationes curiæ suæ*.

1270. The second body of statutes, issued *tempore pacis*, for the sake of increasing the number of scholars, and adding newly-acquired property. These statutes mention no change of location.

1274. The final edition of statutes, perpetually fixing the location of the College at Oxford, with ratification by the Founder, and charter from King Edward I.

to Oxford, and there became the first Head of the new corporate society, thereafter known exclusively as 'the House of the Scholars of Merton,' and embracing not only the 'brethren' of various degrees transported from Maldon, but also the company of twenty scholars already located at Oxford (*degentes in scholis*).

In January 1273, and again in 1274, he was licensed by the Bishop of Lincoln to hold the living of Newenham (Nuneham) *in commendam*, to which he had been presented by the Abbey of Abingdon. This presentation was made at the special request of the Founder, who further testified his personal regard for Peter de Abendon by bequeathing to him a palfrey, and a silver chalice. In 1275 he acquired for the College the advowson of Emildon, or Embledon, in the Diocese of Durham, from Edmund Count of Lancaster; but as the King's license had not been previously obtained, it was recovered by the Crown and regranted to the College by Edward III in 1328–9. In 1276 he procured the annexation to Merton College of a house on the opposite side of Merton-street described as 'Schola Grammaticalis,' in the parish of St. John the Baptist; which house, with another adjoining it on the west side, was afterwards converted by Wylliot into a lodging for the Postmasters. It may be added that during his Wardenship the manor of Kibworth was made over to the College by Richard Oliver, one of the Founder's heirs, and certain lands were apparently purchased, out of money left by the Founder, for the support of the Hospital at Basingstoke.

In the year 1284, Archbishop Peckham, as Visitor, found it necessary to enforce a stricter observance of the Statutes by means of Injunctions which are still extant. In the same year, dissensions between the Warden and Fellows compelled the Archbishop to institute the first Visitation of the College through Commissioners. Two years later, in 1286, Peter de Abendon resigned his Wardenship, and died at the beginning of 1292, as we learn by the admission of his successor to the living of Nuneham.

2. Richard de Werplysdon (1286–1295). He is stated by Dr. Astry, following the Wilson Catalogue, to have succeeded Peter de Abendon in 1286. The Old Catalogue, however, dates his accession from the eighteenth year of Edward I (1290), while he is designated as Warden in a Kibworth title-deed of 1285, and the 'Liber Ruber' contains an entry recording the fact of his doing homage in that year, as Warden, for lands at Barkby. Perhaps he may have acted as deputy to his predecessor for some years before his formal election, if, indeed, he was ever formally elected and presented to the Visitor. The only event recorded as occurring in his Wardenship is the final appropriation to College services of the Church of St. John the Baptist, which had been granted to the College by the Abbey of Reading in 1265, and had doubtless been transformed in the meantime into the present College Chapel. It is stated that before the new building was opened, the College had a chapel to the south. It appears from Archbishop Winchelsea's appointment of his successor that Richard de Werplysdon vacated the Wardenship by death. He is reported to have given several MSS. to the Library, including two of Thomas Aquinas.

3. John de la More (1295–1299). His name was presented, in due form, with those of two others (Robert de Leham and Robert de Ripplingham), to Archbishop Winchelsea, who nominated him by his own authority. In the Archbishop's letter announcing this nomination, the selection by the Visitor of one out of three names is treated as the established usage of the College, and it certainly became so thenceforward. The letter recognises the fitness of both the other candidates, and the graceful reluctance of John de la More to accept the honour. He had been Proctor in 1288, and is stated to have been maltreated, in that capacity, together with the Chancellor himself and some other Masters of Arts, by the Bailiff of the City. His name was appended to an agreement made two years later, whereby a dispute between the Bishop of Lincoln and the University respecting the appointment of

Chancellor was settled, at the instance of the King. It must have been for him that a sword was purchased by the College in 1296, for 2*s.* 2*d.* In 1297, during his Wardenship, another long standing dispute between the College and the Archdeacon of Oxford, respecting certain dues claimed by the Archdeacon from the Church of St. Peter's-in-the-East, was peacefully settled, by a composition under which the College bound itself to pay the Archdeacon 3*s.* a year. According to the Old Catalogue, he ceased to be Warden in 1303, according to Anthony Wood, in 1299; but it clearly appears from the record of his successor's appointment in Archbishop Winchelsea's Register that he resigned in 1299. His name occurs in the old *Computus.*

4. **John de Wantyng** or **Wantage (1297–1328).** He was nominated by the Visitor out of a list of three in the very same form as his predecessor, and with the same decorous allusion to his own reluctance. He is said to have presented the College Library with a large Bible in two volumes, worth five marks. It is not certain whether he was the same John de Wantyng who was admitted to the living of Cuxham in 1322. A curious letter from the Fellows, dated 1326, is preserved in the Register of Archbishop Reynolds, whence it appears that complaints had been made to the Visitor of Wantyng's growing infirmities, and consequent neglect of College affairs, but that, in the opinion of his colleagues, his administration had been highly efficient, that his powers were unimpaired, and that his continuance in office would be for the good of the College. He died in 1328, and was buried in the Choir of the Chapel, below the steps leading up to the altar.

5. **Robert de Trenge (1328–1351).** According to Anthony Wood, he is mentioned in a College record of 1291, and he was certainly Bursar in 1322. One of the same name was presented to the living of Cuxham in 1335. In 1339 he was addressed, with the Chancellor, in a Royal letter on the subject of disorders occasioned by the Oxford butchers. In 1348

he was among the Commissioners appointed by the Bishop of Lincoln to decide some doubtful points in the Oriel Statutes, and in 1350 he was employed, with others, by the Archbishop of Canterbury to adjust fresh differences which had arisen between the University and the Bishop of Lincoln respecting the appointment of Chancellor. During his Wardenship complaints were made against the College by the Chapter of Durham on the ground that Northern students were postponed to Southerners in elections to Merton Fellowships. He died in 1351, it is said of the plague, and was buried in the Choir.

6. William de Durante or Durand (1351–1375). Anthony Wood finds 'Durant' mentioned in 1330, and he appears as Bursar in 1331–2. It appears from the Register of Archbishop Islip that he visited the College in 1357, under the Wardenship of Durand. Bishop Hobhouse also finds him mentioned as associated with Renham, Chancellor of the University, in a commission issued by the Archbishop in 1362–3 (during a vacancy in the See of Lincoln) for the visitation of St. Frideswide's Priory, 'ob infamiam Prioris.' In the following year he gave a house in Oxford to the new Canterbury College just founded by Archbishop Islip. Nothing else is recorded of him, except that he was buried in the Choir.

7. John de Bloxham, S.T.B. (1375–1387). The formal intimation of Durant's death to the Visitor, and the presentation of Bloxham's name together with those of Wylliot and Toneworth, are contained in a letter preserved in Archbishop Sudbury's Register. This is followed by the Visitor's formal appointment of Bloxham, then M.A. The death of Bloxham and the appointment of Wendover are similarly recorded in the Register of Archbishop Courtenay. Bloxham is the first Warden to whose name an University degree is attached. He was Bursar in 1365–6 and afterwards. During his Wardenship, in 1384, the Archbishop visited the College. In 1379 he was employed with others to settle disputes which had arisen in Queen's College, and in 1387 he undertook a

like office at Oriel College. He was sent by Edward III on missions to Scotland and Ireland. He is said to have written much which has perished. He is also said to have incurred much unpopularity through his severity, in consequence of which odious charges were brought against him by two of the Fellows, from which he cleared himself by a solemn oath before a 'Parliament,' or Council, at Westminster. He died, it appears, of bronchitis, and was buried in the middle of the Choir, below the altar-steps[1].

8. **John de Wendover, S.T.B. (1387–1398).** He had been Proctor in 1377. In the College accounts of 1376–7 there is an item, 'In expensis Wendover 8*s.* 8*d.*, cum acquisivit literas de privato Sigillo, de causâ Universitatis.' He resigned his office by an instrument drawn up 'in a little garden adjoining the Warden's lodgings[2].'

9. **Edmund de Bekyngham, S.T.P. (1398–1416).** From an entry in the accounts for 1400–1 it would appear that Cardinal Beaufort, then Chancellor of the University, must have been entertained in the College. Bekyngham is stated to have acted as Vice-gerent of the Chancellor, being 'theologus senior,' in 1414. He died in office[3].

10. **Thomas de Rodeborne or Rudborn, S.T.P. (1416–1417).** He is described as an eminent divine, mathematician, and historian. He was Bursar in 1399–1400, and Proctor in 1399 and 1401. In 1411, he was one of the twelve censors appointed by the University to examine Wyclif's doctrines. Having been elected Warden in 1416, he accompanied Henry V, as Chaplain, into Normandy in 1417, having apparently then resigned the Wardenship. However, in 1420, he was elected Chancellor

[1] Kilner states that he was the last of four Wardens buried there, whose graves were removed 'without the screen, for the new pavement,' about 1671. The brass in joint memory of him and Whytton has been replaced, and now lies in front of the Communion-table on the north side. Three gravestones, believed to be those of Wantyng, Trenge, and Durand, but with illegible inscriptions, are still to be seen in the north transept.

[2] This is stated on the authority of a loose paper belonging to Anthony Wood.

[3] During his Wardenship there occurs in the College accounts an item, 'Pro expensis Custodis tempore Parliamenti 64*s.* 8*d.*' Similar items occur in 1400–1.

of the University, and after filling various preferments in the Church, was made Bishop of St. David's in 1433. In 1434 he was nominated by Henry VI, whose chaplain he was, to the See of Ely, but the Chapter refused to elect him. He built the tower over the College gate, and gave books to the Library. He died in 1442.

11. Robert Gylbert, S.T.P. (1417–1421). It was Anthony Wood's opinion that Gylbert was Warden before Rudborn. Gylbert is mentioned in a *computus* of February 17, 1417, as Warden, and in attendance on King Henry V, then in Normandy. He is also mentioned as Warden in another *computus* of May 6 in that year. In 1411 he had been one of those commissioned by the University to examine the works of Wyclif, and in 1413 he was Commissary of the Bishop of Lincoln on a visitation of the University. He afterwards held in succession an extraordinary number of ecclesiastical preferments, and accompanied Henry V, as Dean of the Chapel Royal, being also Warden of Merton. At the end of 1417, he distinguished himself in a Synod of London by advocating the claims of those who had grown old in the service of literature and science at Oxford to receive ecclesiastical and academical rewards. He resigned the Wardenship in 1421, and after holding various other offices in the Church, he became Bishop of London, being consecrated, according to one account, by Cardinal Beaufort. He died in 1448.

12. Henry de Abyndon, S.T.P. (1421–1437). Anthony Wood finds his name mentioned in College records of 1390. After holding several preferments in Somersetshire, he was a delegate, or 'Syndicus,' of the University at the Council of Constance in 1414. He there defended the claim of Oxford to precedence over Salamanca, and of England over Spain, with signal effect, and, in the latter case, with success. Kilner refers to an account of Abyndon's election in his possession, whence it appears that, of thirty-one Fellows, eighteen voted for and thirteen against the list of three names submitted to Archbishop Chicheley, who

selected Abyndon. Under his Wardenship, in 1425, the chapel was completed, by the addition of the tower and transepts, and dedicated afresh to St. John the Baptist. The Warden gave £20 towards a new peal of bells, as well as books for the library. The famous Visitation of Archbishop Chicheley, through Commissioners, took place in the same year. Abyndon died in office, at the end of 1437.

13. **Elias de Holcot, S.T.B. (1437–1455).** He was Bursar in 1419–20. Though elected in 1437, he was not admitted until May 28, 1438. He afterwards held the prebend of Twyford in St. Paul's Cathedral. It appears that, in 1444, he was cited to appear before the Visitor and answer some charges respecting his administration of College property. In 1447 certain funds appropriated to building the Divinity School were deposited with him by the executors of Cardinal Beaufort, to be kept in a chest with five keys[1]. He is also mentioned in various other documents relating to College property. He resigned on December 22, 1455. He died in 1464, being then Prebendary of York. He also held prebends of Southwell and Beverley.

14. **Henry Sever, S.T.P. (1455–1471).** He was chaplain and almoner to Henry VI, from whom he received many ecclesiastical preferments, including the Chancellorship of St. Paul's. In 1427 he was Proctor. In 1440 he was named the first Provost of Eton College by the Act of Foundation. At the end of 1442, however, he became Chancellor of Oxford, and in the following year was specially recommended by the University to the favour of Pope Eugenius IV. In 1446 he was presented by the College to the 'free chapel' of Kibworth, which he soon afterwards resigned, but was again presented to it four years after his election to the Wardenship, which took place on February 19, 1455–6. He rebuilt or completed the Warden's house[2], and the Holywell tower, probably at his

[1] They were bound to complete the edifice within five and a-half years, but the executors condoned some delay.

[2] Anthony Wood says that he added some bedrooms, 'quorum unus hodie ab illo appellatur.' Anstey, in the Introduction to his 'Munim. Acad.' (p. xlii), de-

own expense, since these services are mentioned in the Savile and Wilson Catalogues, together with sundry donations of books and jewels, as justifying his claim to be reputed a second founder of the College. He died on July 6, 1471, and was buried in the Choir, before the Warden's stall, whence the monumental brass has been removed to its present site on the south side of the chancel, within the rails of the Communion-table.

15. John Gygur or **Gygour, S.T.B. (1471–1482).** Having been elected Fellow of Merton in 1437 or 1438, he was also among the early Fellows of All Souls. In 1444 he became Principal of St. Alban Hall, and in 1447 he filled the office of Proctor. He is described as having been eminent both in spiritual and in temporal affairs. He resigned the Wardenship in 1482, and the Old Register begins with a record of his resignation. He afterwards presented books to the College. He died at Tatteshall in Lincolnshire, and was buried in the collegiate church there, of which he was also Warden.

16. Richard Fitzjames, S.T.P. (1482–1507). He was born at Redlinch, near Bruton, and, having been elected Fellow in 1465, became Proctor in 1473. In 1481 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University, an office which he often filled afterwards. He was also a Prebendary of Wells, chaplain to Edward IV, and Principal of St. Alban Hall, when he was elected Warden. After accumulating upon himself several other ecclesiastical dignities, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester in 1497, still retaining the Wardenship. In 1502 he was Chancellor of the University. In 1503 he was translated to Chichester, borrowing 100 marks from the College for the expenses of this removal. In 1505 he was elevated to the See of London, and received £20 from the College—whether as a gift or loan does not appear—for the expenses of his consecration. Having resigned the Wardenship in 1507, he lived

scribes him as borrowing from the Seltone Chest the extreme sum permitted by the ordinance (60*s.*), for the purpose of his repairs at Merton, and pledging an illuminated missal of far greater value.

fourteen years longer, but is recorded to have become blind, for which reason no ordination was held in his diocese in 1519. Among the many benefactions which earned him, like Sever, the title of 'almost a second founder,' were the completion of the Warden's lodgings, with the 'great vault,' on which his arms are to be seen, and the gift of a pictorial tablet set with precious stones, as well as of several pieces of plate, all of which, no doubt, were melted down for the service of Charles I[1].

17. **Thomas Harpur, S.T.P. (1507–1508).** He was Vice-Chancellor in 1498. He also held the Vicarage of St. Nicholas, Bristol, and died there in 1508. A double-brass with an inscription was placed in the chapel, to his memory and that of Ralph Hamsterley.

18. **Richard Rawlins, S.T.P. (1508–1521).** Having already held several ecclesiastical preferments, he became Canon of Windsor in 1506, and Archdeacon of Cleveland in 1507. As Warden, he entertained 'peregrinum quendam' in his lodgings with a hospitality thought worthy of note. In 1512 he gave a banquet, followed by '*ludus optimus in magnâ aulâ.*' He is also stated by Wood to have caused the windows in the Hall to be set up, and to have built the gallery between the Hall and the Vestry, as well as the wall enclosing the area before the South Chapel door. In 1510 he accompanied the King to France, and was present at the siege of Tournay; after which he received other posts of emolument in the Church, including that of King's Almoner, in the place of Thomas Wolsey. In 1518, Catherine of Arragon showed her regard for him by accepting a dinner in Merton. Three years later, however (in 1521), complaints were made against him by the 'major et sanior pars' of the Fellows, and the Visitor decreed his deposition, on account of various offences and shortcomings in his administration of the College. The decree of deposition, preserved in the College Register, is a very curious document, and discloses extraordinary forbearance on

[1] He also gave books to the library, with his name depicted thereon.

the part of the Archbishop, who had first exhausted every resource of private remonstrance, both personally and through friends of the Warden, had then instituted a Visitation of the College, and had postponed the transmission of his final sentence for eighteen days, in the hope that Rawlins might come to a better mind. Besides 'intolerable' conduct towards the Visitor and the Fellows, the Warden is specially condemned for constant absenteeism, 'neglect of scrutinies,' progresses, and estate-management, wrongful alienation of College estates, wasteful expenditure on his own stables, actual fraud in granting leases and remitting fines, wilful diminution of the number of Fellows, and so forth. It would appear from a protest against leasing the Grove to Corpus Christi College, addressed to the Visitor in 1701, that, according to a received tradition, it was the sale of land for the site of Corpus Christi College that mainly constituted the 'wrongful alienation of College estates,' for which Rawlins was condemned. Notwithstanding his disgrace, as Anthony Wood informs us, 'because he should not be a loser,' the Bishopric of St. David's was conferred upon him in 1522, and he was one of five Bishops who addressed the Pope in favour of Henry VIII's divorce. He died in 1535.

19. Roland Philips, M.A. (1521–1525). He was of Oriel College, and had been Proctor in 1496. He afterwards became successively Rector of St. Margaret Pattens, Rector of St. Michael's Cornhill, Vicar of Croydon, and Canon of St. Paul's, 'being a great divine and a renowned clerk,' according to Anthony Wood, who, however, observes that he can say little of him, since he was 'a stranger and never Fellow.' Wood mentions elsewhere that he boldly opposed Cardinal Wolsey. In 1522 he was made Precentor of Hereford Cathedral, and at the end of 1524 he offered to resign the Wardenship on condition that Dr. Moscroffe's name should be among the three to be submitted to the Visitor, but on the Fellows rejecting this condition, he resigned absolutely in 1525.

20. John Chambers or **Chambyr, M.D. (1525–1544).** Having

been elected Fellow in 1492, he obtained, in 1502, permission to go abroad and study medicine in the University of Padua, where he received the degree of M.D. in 1506. He was elected 'Rex Fabarum' in his absence. In the same year he returned home, and, having been appointed Physician to Henry VIII, co-operated with Linacre and De Victoria in procuring a charter for the Royal College of Physicians (1518). Retaining his medical title, he must have taken Holy Orders, for he filled various ecclesiastical offices, including a Canonry of Windsor and the Deanery of St. Stephen's College, Westminster. In 1531, he became M.D. of Oxford. In 1534, together with the Sub-Warden and sixteen or seventeen other Fellows, he subscribed to the Royal Supremacy, and two years later he subscribed to the Articles. Being constantly engaged at Court, he took little part in College business, and is expressly stated to have absented himself on this ground from the regular 'scrutiny,' including a solemn inquiry into the Warden's conduct—which statutable custom thenceforth fell into disuse. Before resigning, in 1544, he induced the Fellows to let him nominate the three persons, out of whom the Visitor should choose his successor, particularly designating Tindall for the Visitor's approval[1].

21. Henry Tindall, S.T.B. (1544–1545). He was Proctor in 1521. He died in the course of a 'progress' to Cambridge, and was buried at Gamlingay, of which he was Rector as to a moiety of the Rectory.

22. Thomas Raynold or **Raynolds, S.T.P. (1545–1559).** Having been elected Fellow of Merton in 1524, he was also 'elected into the College of St. Frideswyde' before completing his year of probation, and afterwards became Canon of Cardinal College, and Canon Residentiary of Exeter. At his election to the Wardenship it was decided that the choice of three candidates for the approval of the Visitor lay with

[1] One reason assigned by Chambers for this unconstitutional request was that he designed to make a gift of certain estates to the College, which he could not properly do as Warden.

the seven Fellows senior in standing. As Warden of Merton, he is said to have embraced the cause of the Reformation under Edward VI, but was subsequently appointed Chaplain to Queen Mary, Dean of Bristol, Canon of Westminster, and Dean of Exeter. In 1556 he was Vice-Chancellor, and had Dr. Martiall as his deputy. In 1557 he was designated by Mary for the Bishopric of Hereford, but was promptly superseded by Queen Elizabeth. It is recorded that under his Wardenship the lands of the College first began to be leased by Indenture, and it was under his Wardenship (in 1553) that Merton was re-incorporated by a private Act. He also has the credit of having procured for the College from Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, the appropriation to Merton of the College Lectures founded by Linacre, of which Tunstall was trustee. In 1556, Cardinal Pole, being then Chancellor of the University, visited the College through Commissioners, and issued a set of Injunctions. In the same year he appointed Raynold his Commissary or Vice-Chancellor. Having been associated with William Tresham in rebuilding the Public Schools, Raynold accompanied him on a deputation from the University to deliver letters of congratulation to Queen Elizabeth on her accession. The Queen, however, resented his previous conduct, and not only deprived him of his Wardenship, by a mandate dated from Hampton Court, September 4, 1559, but also, on his declining the Oath of Royal Supremacy, caused him to be deposed from the Deanery of Exeter and imprisoned in the Marshalsea, where he died in the following November.

23. James Gervase or **Garvys, M.A. and D.C.L. (1559–1561).**, In the decree of February 15, 1552–3, allowing him to migrate to the study of law, he is described as 'studens sex annorum in rebus philosophicis.' He was Proctor in 1555, and afterwards Principal of Broadgates Hall, remaining a Fellow of Merton. It is not certain whether his resignation was voluntary or forced upon him by the Visitor in consequence of his Popish sympathies.

24. John Mann or **Man, M.A. (1562–1569).** He was a Fellow of New College, Principal of White Hall, and Chaplain to Archbishop Parker, who appointed him 'jure devolutionis,' on the ground that the names of five, instead of three, candidates had been presented to him by the College. A memorable conflict followed between the Visitor and a large section of the Fellows, which is graphically described by Anthony Wood[1]. Ultimately Mann was admitted, and was afterwards employed as Ambassador at the Court of Spain, where he is said to have been excluded from the Court, for speaking irreverently of the Pope. In February, 1565–6, five Fellows were appointed as Vice-gerents of the Warden, for legal purposes, during his absence in Spain. He was also Dean of Gloucester. He died in London.

25. Thomas Bickley, S.T.P. (1569–1585). He was a Fellow of New College, and, like his predecessor, Chaplain to Archbishop Parker, but was duly nominated by the 'Seniors' with two other candidates who had never been Fellows of Merton. It appears, from an entry in the Register, that he took the oath of office, on admission, by a proxy who swore 'in animam Magistri Thomæ Bickley.' He was Canon and afterwards Chancellor of Lichfield, Archdeacon of Stafford, and finally Bishop of Chichester, 1565. Two months later he resigned the Wardenship. He died in 1596, bequeathing the College £100 for the purchase of land, out of which the Bickley Lectureships were endowed.

26. Henry Savile, M.A. (1585–1621). He was a great scholar and patron of letters, and was specially recommended for election by Lord Burleigh, then Chancellor of the University. He was originally of Brasenose College, was elected Fellow of Merton in 1565, being only sixteen years of age, and was twice Proctor, in 1575 and 1576. He was Reader in Greek (à literis Græcis) to Queen Elizabeth, became Provost of Eton in 1596, and was knighted by James I in 1604. Under his care was compiled the Catalogue of Merton

[1] Details of this conflict are given in Chapter ii. of the present volume.

Fellows which has since been called by his name. Under his care, too, was set up the monument to the Founder in Rochester Cathedral, with an inscription composed by himself; the original memorial having been defaced in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, as beginning with the words '*Orate pro animâ.*' In 1589 he caused the front of the College, then falling into ruin, to be rebuilt from the main gate to the Warden's lodgings. In 1602 he received a loan of £50 from the College towards bringing out his edition of Chrysostom's works, on condition that it should be repaid out of the proceeds of sale. In 1618, at the instance of Archbishop Abbot, he published Bradwardine's work '*De Causâ Dei*,' with a biographical preface. He was also among the early benefactors of the University, having founded the Savilian Professorships of Geometry and Astronomy, with an endowment of £320 annually; established a Mathematical Library and a 'Mathematical Chest,' with an original endowment of £100; contributed £120 towards rebuilding the Schools; made large donations in his lifetime both to the Bodleian Library and the University Press; and bequeathed £40 a year by will for University purposes. He died at Eton in 1621, and was buried in Eton College Chapel. A sumptuous monument was erected to him in Merton College Chapel. This monument originally stood at the east end of the choir, but was removed to the west side of the south transept, where it is still to be seen.

27. Nathaniel Brent, LL.D. (1621–1645 and 1646–1651). He was a Postmaster of Merton in 1589, and was elected Fellow in 1594. Having been Proctor in 1607, he afterwards travelled much on the Continent, and, according to Anthony Wood, 'underwent dangerous adventures in Italy,' while he was collecting materials for his History of the Council of Trent. In 1611 he obtained a lease for life from the College of the Burmington tithes. He married the niece of Archbishop Abbot, and was Vicar-General of the Province of Canterbury, and Judge of the Prerogative Court. Anthony Wood accuses him of having enforced conformity under Laud,

and having afterwards turned against him in the interest of 'the Abbots.' Writing in 1636, Laud says of him, 'Sir Nath. Brent is an honest man, and may be able to give me some information of such men as are refractory to the Church, but living so much from Canterbury as he doth, it is not possible for him to do me the service I expect.' An important letter from Laud to him on the affairs of Merton has already been cited in Chapter iii, and he fills a considerable space in Laud's correspondence. In 1645 he was virtually ejected by letters from Charles I—during the abeyance of the Visitorship—recommending Harvey. After the surrender of Oxford, in the following year, he resumed office, and was President of the Parliamentary Visitors, but resigned on November 27, 1651, of his own accord, as the Register informs us, but doubtless under pressure from the Independent party, then dominant in the State[1]. He died on November 6, 1652, as we learn from a kindly notice in the College Register, which describes him as 'Collegii Mertonensis per annos complures Custos vigilantissimus dignissimusque.'

28. William Harvey, M.D. (1645–1646). He was Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Physician to Charles I, but is best known to posterity as the illustrious discoverer of the circulation of the blood. Though he is stated to have been appointed by a peremptory Royal mandate, he was elected in due form, but held office for a year only, and retired on the entry of the Parliamentary forces.

29. Jonathan Goddard, M.D. (1651–1660). He was a graduate of Cambridge, but, like Harvey, was 'incorporated' into the University of Oxford. His election to the Wardenship was due to the influence of Oliver Cromwell, whose physician he was. In 1653 he was nominated by Cromwell burgess for the University, to serve in the 'Little Parliament,' and in the same year was made one of Cromwell's Council of State. He was also a Professor of Gresham College, and among the first members of the Royal Society. After the

[1] See Chapter iv. of this volume.

Restoration, the see of Canterbury being then vacant, Charles II directed a fresh election to be made to the Wardenship, as from the death of Brent, treating Goddard's tenure of the office as null and void.

30. Edward Reynolds, S.T.P. (1660–1661). He became a Postmaster of Merton in 1615, and a Probationer Fellow in 1620, 'which he got,' says Anthony Wood, 'by his skill in the Greek tongue.' During the reign of Charles I he obtained various ecclesiastical preferments, and was renowned as a preacher. His views were then Presbyterian, and he was summoned to the Westminster Conference as a representative of the Presbyterian interest. In 1648 he was Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of the University; in 1650 he was deposed from the Deanery; in 1659 he was restored to it. Having been recommended by the King for election to the Wardenship in July 1660, he retained it only until the following February, when he resigned it on his promotion to the See of Norwich. He died in 1676, having presented the College two years before with £100 for the decoration of the Chapel. During his chequered lifetime he did not escape the reproach of time-serving, which some charitably attributed to the influence of 'his covetous and politic wife,' but he seems to have been a man of essentially moderate opinions, to which he is stated by Anthony Wood to have sacrificed his position at Christ Church.

31. Thomas Clayton, M.D. (1661–1693). He was a graduate of Pembroke, and had succeeded his father as Regius Professor of Medicine. In 1660 he was elected burgess for the University. By a stretch of Prerogative, he was specially designated by Royal letters as one of those whose names should be presented to the Visitor. The violent opposition offered by some of the Fellows to his admission gave rise to memorable scenes, which are fully described by Anthony Wood[1]. His subsequent administration of the College was

[1] A full account of these incidents, and of Clayton's subsequent disputes with the Fellows, is given in Chapter iv. of this volume.

such as to occasion continual disputes between himself and the Fellows, calling for the repeated intervention of the Visitor. He died at his country place near Chalfont St. Giles in 1693.

32. Richard Lydall, M.D. (1693–1704). He was elected Fellow so far back as 1641; he was Junior Linacre Reader in 1650, and Senior in 1653. In 1661 he was one of the candidates for the Wardenship, but is said to have been thought too young, and when he was actually elected, being past the age of seventy, he was, on the other hand, thought too old. Anthony Wood's description of him is by no means flattering, but Astry speaks more favourably of him. He died in the College in 1704, at the age of eighty-four, and was buried in the Chapel, where his monument is to be seen in the south transept.

33. Edmund Marten, M.D. (1704–1709). Hearne states that upon Lydall's death 'all honest men thought Dr. John Bateman infinitely preferrable to the other two (viz. Dr. Lane and Dr. Martin), yet, for all that, the Archbishop, because Dr. Bateman was an Honest Church of England Man, and one who was likely to do good in that College, which extremely wanted such an one, made choice of Dr. Martin, who by a lazy Epicurean Life, and an utter neglect of all Discipline, has very much prejudiced that noble and ancient Seminary.' This judgment is confirmed by an entry in the private note-book of his successor. He died in Dorsetshire, and was 'most privately buried in the outer chapel of the College,' but without memorial, according to his own express wish.

34. John Holland, S.T.P. (1709–1734). He came from Magdalen Hall. He was Proctor in 1700, Rector of East Hendred, Berks, King's Chaplain, Canon of Salisbury, and (afterwards) Canon of Worcester, where he died in 1734. He was buried in the College Chapel.

35. Robert Wyntle, M.D. (1734–1750). He was one of the first Radcliffe Travelling Fellows. He was buried in the College Chapel.

FELLOWS OF MERTON COLLEGE.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following list of Fellows has been compiled by Astry on the principle of giving in loose alphabetical order all those elected in each reign, before that of Henry V, from which the Old Catalogue dates. In that and subsequent reigns the names are given in order of election.

The dates appended to each name are mostly copied from Anthony Wood's English Catalogue, and represent, not the year of election, which can seldom be determined, but the year in which the name first appears in College accounts or other documents examined by that great antiquary.

Names of supposed Fellows included by Wood in his English Catalogue, but not to be found in the Old Catalogue, are marked with an asterisk. The notes appended to such names are given in the exact words of Wood's MSS.

Reign of Edward I.

Richard de Wallingford, or **of St. Alban's.** He is said to have been born at Wallingford, and to have become Abbot of St. Alban's, but there is some reason to believe that the name originally entered in the Old Catalogue was that of Robert of St. Alban's, and that it was afterwards altered into *Richard* by some person anxious to identify this early Fellow of Merton with the Abbot of St. Alban's.

The Savile and Wilson Catalogues, however, recognise only 'Richard Wallingford,' the Abbot of St. Alban's, whom they claim as a Fellow of Merton.

This Richard is said to have been the son of a skilful blacksmith, and to have shown a mathematical genius in boyhood. Having entered the monastery of St. Alban's, he was sent by the Abbot to study at Oxford, and, by virtue of

his consummate learning, was himself chosen Abbot, under a Royal *congé d'élire*, in 1327. His masterpiece was the construction of a clock, described as then without a rival in Europe, whereon the motions of the sun, moon, and stars, with the ebb and flow of the tides, were elaborately depicted. Lest the monks should neglect or spoil this instrument, he left a handbook explaining the proper use of it. He died at St. Alban's in 1335, having presented many books to Merton College.

Thomas Andover, or de Andevere (1299)[1]. He seems to have been a Fellow during the Wardenship of Wantyng, having been presented by Merton College in 1315 to the living of Ibstone, which he vacated by death in 1335.

John de Ailesbury (1321). He was Bursar in 1327–8 and 1328–9, Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East in 1331, afterwards Dean of the Collegiate Church of South Malling in Kent, and Commissary of the University in 1336[2].

Thomas de Abendon (1305). He was Proctor in 1311, and is not to be confounded with a certain Richard de Abendon stated to have given books to the College in 1299. Bishop Hobhouse finds him occurring, as Bursar, in 1313.

Thomas Basing (or Basyng), (1289), surmised to have been of the Founder's kin.

Richard de Bray (1296).

John de Bodyham, Badyham, or Bedingham (1300).

Roger Bacon. This name is entered as 'Bakon' in the Old Catalogue, and 'Rogerus' is prefixed to it in a later handwriting; but an erasure immediately follows it, which led Anthony Wood to conjecture that it was originally written 'Bakeridge,' whom he assigns to 1291[3]. In the Savile and

[1] The dates appended to names, in brackets, purport to rest on the authority of Anthony Wood, and appear to represent, not the year of election, but the first year in which the name occurs in college documents examined by Wood.

[2] This John de Ailesbury evidently belongs to Edward II's reign. Anthony Wood mentions another John de Ailesburie as having been Fellow before 1291. His name does not occur in the old Computus, but is mentioned after that of 'Andover' in the Old Catalogue.

[3] The name apparently curtailed by erasure has also been supposed to be that of

Wilson Catalogues, however, the name is clearly given as that of 'Rogerus Bacon,' and in the latter it is followed by a full list of his works. As the date of Roger Bacon's death is variously fixed at 1284 and 1292, there is no inherent impossibility in his having taught or read lectures at Merton. But there is no proof of his having done so, and if it be true, as we read in Cave's Literary History, that he was born very early in the century, delivered a discourse before Henry III in 1259, and reached the zenith of his fame about 1278, it is highly improbable that he was a 'scholaris' of Merton College. Moreover, Roger Bacon was a Franciscan monk, and, under the Founder's statutes, any Fellow becoming a monk was to forfeit his fellowship.

Walter de Burton, S.T.P. (1313), Rector of Cuxham, and promoted to be Sub-Dean of Wells Cathedral in 1334. He was Bursar in 1321 and 1328–9.

Walter Burley, S.T.P. (1305). He is said to have studied first at Oxford and afterwards at Paris, becoming a fellow-pupil of Duns Scotus with William of Occham, but afterwards a vigorous opponent of his old master. He was a celebrated lecturer and writer on philosophy, and bore the scholastic title of *Doctor planus* or *perspicuus*, as Roger Bacon had borne that of *Doctor Mirabilis*. According to Anthony Wood his treatises were long in common use as text books. He was domestic chaplain to Richard de Bury, Archbishop of York, and appointed preceptor to Prince Edward, afterwards Edward III, at the University of Oxford. In 1326 he was sent with two others on an embassy to Rome, in order to procure the canonisation of Thomas Earl of Lancaster. In 1328 he was almoner to Queen Philippa, and in 1332 Prebendary of Wells. In 1345 he was an unsuccessful applicant for the Archdeaconry of Richmond in Yorkshire. Soon afterwards he died at Paris, at the age of more than seventy.

John Baconthorpe, a Carmelite monk, whom Savile mentions (in his Preface to Bradwardine's *De Causâ Dei*) as having been a member of Merton, though he is not so entered in any of the Catalogues.

*'**William Burnell** (*temp.* **Henry III**), descended of the noble family of the Burnells, afterwards Provost of the Church of Wells by the gift of Robert Burnell, Bishop of that place. The said William Burnell gave to the Common Place or Chest of Books several MSS., among which was—1. A Scholastical History worth 40 shillings; 2. A Postill on the Psalter by N. Gorham; 3. Augustin *De Civitate Dei*, worth 20 shillings; with several others. He was also a Benefactor to Balliol College, wherein, as 'tis probable, he had been for some time a student, and died 1304.' Kilner mentions other preferments held by William Burnell, including a Prebend of York, to which he was recommended by Papal letters.

— **Boys** (1310), called by Anthony Wood, in his English Catalogue, Stephen de Bosco Boys, and there credited with the same gifts to the Library afterwards attributed to Walter (or William) de Bosco, who follows Ralph de Baldoc. Stephen de Bosco was Bursar in 1313.

Ralph de Baldoc (1284). 'Baldoc' is described as Bishop of London in a note to the Old Catalogue, and Ralph de Baldoc, undoubtedly Bishop of London, is claimed as a Fellow of Merton in the Savile and Wilson Catalogues. But Anthony Wood surmises that William de Baldoc, whose name occurs in the Old Computus, has been confounded with his namesake Ralph.

Walter (or **William**) **de Bosco** was among the earliest Fellows. According to Anthony Wood, he was Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1273, being then Fellow of Merton. In 1308 he or one of the same name again appears as Chancellor of the University, and in 1309 'Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.' 'He was Doctor of the Holy Writt, and gave to the Chests of Books, or Common Place where the Books laid, since known by the name of Librarie, a Bible worth 20 shillings, and Augustin *De Civitate Dei*.' He also held a prebend in the diocese of Lincoln, and a benefice in Northamptonshire. 'William de Bosco' is mentioned in the Old Computus.

Bartholomew (Bartylmewe) de Cowley (1286). His name appears twice in the Old Catalogue as 'Bartylmewe' and 'Coveley,' but is thus reunited by Anthony Wood, chiefly, it seems, on the authority of the old Computus.

Richard de Combe, or 'de Cumbâ' (1291).

William de Chelsam (1284). Rector of Stockbury in Kent, 1291. By his will, dated 1300, he directed his body to be buried in the churchyard of St. John the Baptist.

Jeffry de Codynton (1282). Supposed to be related to Peter de Codynton, who is mentioned in the Foundation Charter of Merton College, and who had released to Walter de Merton all his rights in the manor of Maldon.

Walter de Codynton (1284). He appears as Bursar in 1308.

Robert de Candever (1297).

Roger de Crosby (1297). He gave books to the College.

Alan de Chyrden (1296). He gave books to the College.

Thomas de Chilham, or Chylham (1296).

Richard de Cokkyswell. He is identified by Anthony Wood with 'Kokyswell' mentioned afterwards in the Old and Savile Catalogues. The name of Ric. de Kokeswell occurs in the Old Computus of 1288.

Henry de Charwalton (1300).

*** 'Hugh de Chausey or Chaucey (1303).** Son of Walter de Chaucey, sometime Baillive to Bogo de Clare, Lord of the Mannour of Holywell, as being Rector of St. Peter's-in-the-East. He gave to the Library a fair Bible in MS., with 30 shillings.'

Richard Camsale (or **Kamshall**), **S.T.P.** He was an eminent theologian, originally of Balliol College. He was Commissary or Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1225. He gave books to the College, and was buried in the Chapel under a marble tablet, inscribed with 'Saxon' characters.

Walter de Chylton (1289). According to Anthony Wood he bequeathed two MSS. to the Library, which, however, Wood could not identify. He appears as Bursar in the Holywell Rolls of Edward I's reign.

William de Caldcote (1284).

David Deverell (1284). He is mentioned in the Old Computus.

* 'Downe or de la Dune (1306). Of kin to the Founder. In a Sub-Warden's Accompt, 1351: "Item, Mr. Will. Downe pro pensione sua xx.*s.*"'

William de Eboraco. He was presented by the King to the living of Hedon in the diocese of York in 1295, but was not ordained deacon until 1296.

Matthew Elham. A 'Matthew de Elham' appears as Bursar in 1325.

— **Ennor.** He was apparently the same as 'Henore,' named separately in the Old Catalogue.

* 'William de Ewell (*temp.* Henry III), borne at Ewell neare to Merton in Surrey, son of Agnes, sister of Walter de Merton the Founder, was one of the first Fellows of Meaudon.'

* 'John de Elmer (1284).'

Henry de Foderinghey (1284). He came from Balliol College, to which he was afterwards a benefactor. He was presented by Merton College to the living of Ibstone in 1306, and vacated it by death in 1315. He endowed the College with certain tenements at Kibworth[1]. He is mentioned in the Old Computus.

— **Godston** (or **Godstow**).

* 'Richard de Gaddyng (*temp.* Henry III), com. Suffolk. He gave to the Common Place for the Reception of Books—1. a Scholastical History worth 8 sh.; 2. Liber Sententiarum worth 20 sh.; with eight more MSS. at least of considerable value, as also a Concordance or Concordantia vocalis worth 19 sh. He died before 1299.'

John de Gattisden, M.D. He was an eminent philosopher and physician, called 'Joannes Anglicus' by Matthæus Sylvaticus, and said to have flourished in 1320. He wrote various

[1] Bishop Hobhouse cites a Close Roll of June 22, 1326, containing a letter to the Royal escheator concerning these lands.

medical works, recommending the virtues of fresh air and cool regimen. '*Fecit rosam medicinæ*' is appended to his name in the Old Catalogue. In a chapter, '*De variolis*,' he professed to have cured Prince Edward of the small-pox, wrapping up his body in scarlet.

Henry Gower, M.A., LL.D. He was born of a noble family in Glamorganshire, and was Chancellor of the University in 1322 and 1323, when he took an active part in liberating it from the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Oxford. After holding a Canonry of St. David's for some fourteen years, he was consecrated Bishop of St. David's in 1328. He there built the episcopal palace, as well as a chapel within the Cathedral, in which he was buried, on his death in 1347.

* '**Stephen de Gravesend** (**1289**), com. Kent. He gave books to the Cistæ Librorum. *Boetius de natura Dei cum Libris Avicennæ*, 21*s*. Afterwards Bishop of London 1318.'

* '**Stephen de Gravesend**, Canon of St. Paul's, afterwards Bishop of London, was about this time either Fellow or Student of Merton College.'

Stephen de Hardell (**de Herdeley** or **Herdley**). He is considered by Wood to be identical with Herdysley, named separately in the Old Catalogue. He is mentioned in the Old Computus.

Richard de Hargrave. He is said to have died in 1289.

Geffry de Heyham. He is mentioned as executor of the will of William Burnell, whom Anthony Wood reckons among the early Fellows.

John Heyleys ('*Halys*,' Old Cat.), (**1296**).

John de Hakeney (probably=**Hackney**), (**1296**).

Richard de Hakeborne (**1296**). He was last Rector of Wolford, the advowson of which, together with the chapelry of Burmington, had been appropriated to Merton College in 1266, and which, on Hakeborne's resignation in 1310, was converted into a vicarage. According to Anthony Wood, he received a pension, by way of compensation, and died about 1311. He appears as Sub-Warden in 1304, and was among

the benefactors of the Library. He was buried in the Chapel, under a large marble tablet, with an inscription; but his tablet was removed into the outer-chapel when the Chapel was paved with black and white marble.

— **Hamelton.**

— **Hepsall** (or '**Kepsall**').

William de Hothon (or '**Hothun**'), **S.T.P.** He was brother of John, Bishop of Ely, and was himself a man of noted piety, learning, and practical ability, much trusted by Edward I. He is named in the Old Computus of 1288, and Anthony Wood states that his name first occurs among the Fellows in 1286, but surmises that, as he was then M.A., his connexion with the College began at least ten years earlier. Having obtained the degree of D.D. at Paris and become a Dominican or preaching Friar, he was made Provincial of his Order in England (1282), and appears to have filled that office in 1293. In 1297 he was nominated by Pope Boniface, with the King's consent, Archbishop of Dublin; and was consecrated by the Bishop of Durham, under a special licence, at Ghent, in Belgium, where the King then was. Being well known, from his long residence at Paris, to the French King, he was employed on several conciliatory missions between him and Edward I, resulting in a two years' truce; after which, he was sent on a legation to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining the definitive sanction of Pope Boniface to the articles thus concluded. In this he succeeded, but died in Burgundy, on his homeward journey, in 1298. His body was brought to London and buried in 'the College of Preachers.' He was the author of various works, and presented several books to the College Library.

— **Hamond.** He is identified by Anthony Wood with 'Hammond de Lyncolne' (1284), though 'Lyncolne' is separately named in the Old Catalogue.

— **Holbech.**

***Thomas de Hothum** (1306), sometimes written **Hotton**, D.D., Chancellor of the University of Oxford 1326.

Nicholas de Ivyngho (1296). He was presented by Merton College to the Chaplaincy of Ibstone in 1304, and to the Vicarage of St. Peter's-in-the-East in 1306 [1].

Henry de Idisworth [or **Hidesworth** or **Edsworthe**], **(1300).** 'Henry de Edsworthe' is mentioned as Official of the Court of Canterbury in 1329.

Peter de Insulâ [**de l'Isle**], **(1284).** One of this name was admitted to the Rectory of Farendon 1284, and appears as Archdeacon of Exeter in 1291, and Archdeacon of Wells in 1296; he was summoned to Parliament, in that capacity, in 1299 and 1302. On the other hand, a Peter de Insulâ, whom Anthony Wood recognises as the Fellow of Merton, is mentioned as Prebendary of York in 1301, as Archdeacon of Carlisle in 1302, and as Sub-Dean of York in 1310. He died in 1311, having presented the College with eighteen silver dishes and eighteen silver salt-cellars.

— **Ivyngham.**

* '**William de Karshall (1305).** The Old Catalogue hath him Kexsall. See before, "Hepsall."'

Jeffry de Kylminton, S.T.P., (1296). He was the reputed author of many works in scholastic philosophy, none of which remain. It is suggested by Astry that his performances may have been confounded with those of Richard de Kilminton, a well-known writer of that age, whose works are enumerated by Bale.

* '**Rog. de Kymlingworth** or **Killingworth (1300)**, com. Northumberland;' vide Killingworth under Richard II and Henry V.

Robert de Kynebell (1291), described by Anthony Wood as

[1] Astry supposes that Nich. de Ivingho may be the same as Nicholas de Ovyng, who, though not mentioned in the Catalogues, was presented by the College to the living of Chetyndon in Bucks, but turned out by the Prior and Convent of St. Oswald's, Yorkshire, after which the Visitor required the College to admit him as Fellow or give him a competent benefice. The Visitor's letter, dated December 1297, lays particular stress on the danger of Ovyng bringing discredit on the clergy by begging, unless supported by the College.

'near of kin to the founder[1]'. Another of the same name occurs in Edward III's reign.

— **Loth.**

— **Lyne** or **Lynce.**

— **Loundres.** According to Wood, he was the same as Henry de London mentioned in the Old Computus, and gave the College a rent-charge of £20 a year.

William de Lutgarsale (1284). 'William de Luggarshall' appears as Bursar in the Holywell Rolls of Edward I's reign.

William de Luda (1296). He is not to be confounded with another William de Luda, Bishop of Ely in 1290.

Ralph de Lee. He was one of the advocates sent by the University, in 1312, to Avignon or Rome about a dispute with the Preaching Friars. 'Will de Lee' is mentioned in the Old Computus.

Robert de Leham (1284). He was one of three whose names were presented by the College to the Visitor in 1295, when More was nominated Warden. He is mentioned in the Old Computus.

Adam de Lynstede (1306). He was Bursar in 1313, and was one of three Fellows through whom the ground which now forms the site of Corpus Christi gardens became the property of Merton College in the years 1320–1. The other two were John Greyville (or Greynville) and Walter de Horkestowe, whose names are entered under the reign of Edward II. See Appendix A.

— **Lynford.**

Henry de Maymysfeld [Mammesfeld or Maunsfield], S.T.P., (1288). He was Chancellor of the University in 1309, and again in 1311, when he attended a Provincial Council about the Templars held in York Minster. In 1315 he became Dean of Lincoln, and in 1319 was elected Bishop of Lincoln,

[1] John de Langton, afterwards Bishop of Chichester (1305), is included by Gutch in his list of Merton Bishops, on the authority of a note by Anthony Wood to Godwin. Wood's belief that he was educated at Merton rested on the fact that, in leaving a chest with £100 to the University, Langton named Merton first among the colleges to benefit by it.

but declined the office. In 1324 he appears as Canon of Carlisle, doubtless combining this preferment with his Deanery. He died in 1328. He is credited with the authorship of many books, one only of which is extant,—his Commentaries on Boethius, preserved in New College Library. It is specially recorded of him that he caused all the side windows of the Choir in Merton College Chapel to be glazed at his own expense, and several of them bear his monogram. He is mentioned in the Old Computus.

John de la More. He became Warden in 1295. [See above.]

Walter de Maydston (1296). He is confounded in the Savile and Wilson Catalogues with Ralph de Maydston, Bishop of Hereford in 1234.

John de Martyn (1296). He is supposed by Anthony Wood to be the same John de Martyn who appears ten years later as Vicar of Stratton St. Margaret's. He gave the College £5 and two or three MSS.

John de Mortimer (1299).

— **Maron (1299).**

John Middleton (1291).

*'**John de Monumow** or **Monmouth** (*temp.* **Henry III**). Doctor of Divinity, Chancellor of the University 1290, and six years after Bishop of Landaff (ob. 1323). 'He gave to the Cistæ Librorum of our College—1. the four greater Prophets with glosses, 5 shill.; 2. the twelve lesser Prophets with glosses, 4 shill.; 3. *Liber Anselmi cum Questionibus Thomæ de Malo*, 12 shill.; 4. *Quodlibeta Gandavi et S. Thomæ*, 10 shill., etc.'

*'**Roger de Martivall** or **Marrivall** (*temp.* **Henry III**), son of Ankerina de Marrivall, lord of Noweslay in Leicestershire, Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Huntingdon [1288], Chancellor of the University of Oxford 1293, Dean of Lincoln 1310, Bishop of Salisbury 1315, where he died 1329. 'He gave to the Cistæ Librorum *Speculum Historiæ solempne*, four volumes of great value, besides others[1].'

[1] It may here be noticed that in the very earliest part of Anthony Wood's

William Mykelfeld or **Makelesfeld, S.T.P. (1291)**[1]. He was a man of great piety and learning. Having obtained his B.D. degree at Paris, he returned to Oxford and became D.D. He belonged to the Order of Preaching Friars, and represented them at the Synod of Besançon in 1303, as Leland states, on the nomination of King Edward I. He died on his return journey, either in 1303 or in 1304, having in the meantime been created a Cardinal by Pope Benedict XI, though it is doubtful whether he lived to receive the news of it. He was the author of several treatises.

Roger de Medeherce (1291). This name must surely be a variation of 'Mederch,' which immediately follows it in the Old Savile and Wilson Catalogues.

Richard de Normanton (1284).

Robert de Norton (1291).

*'**Raphe de Odyam (1284)**, com. Hampshire, near of kin to the Founder. The surname is several times mentioned in his will, 1277.'

*'**Adam de Peterfield** (*temp.* **Henry III**), com. Hampshire; near of kin to the Founder, W. de Merton.'

*'**John de Pykering (1282)**, com. Ebor.'

Thomas de Pontysbury (1296). He is mentioned as Professor of Civil Law in 1329.

T. Punct (or **Punt**).

William de Pounfrett (1306).

Robert de Ryplyngham (1284). In 1295 he was chosen for the Wardenship with Leham and De la More, when the

Catalogue Anthony and Thomas de Beke or Beak are entered, not as Fellows, but as students and commoners with the Fellows. These brothers were sons of Walter Beke, Baron of Eresby in Lincolnshire, and kinsmen of the Founder, who left to Anthony a ring and certain houses at Salisbury. In the purchase of a house from Jacob, son of Mosey, the Jew, in 1266, it was specially provided that Anthony and Thomas Beke, then residing there, should continue to occupy the house for three years, at a rent of 100*s.*, 'the exact allowance for commons among the Fellows.' Accordingly Gutch reckons them as the first Merton Commoners. Anthony became Bishop of St. David's in 1280, and of Lincoln in 1319. Thomas became Bishop of Durham in 1283, and afterwards Patriarch of Jerusalem. He died in 1311.

[1] Anthony Wood enters *John* de Micklefield or Maclefield under this year (1291).

last was nominated. In 1297 he was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese of York, where there are records of his official acts. He died in 1332, bequeathing two books to the Cistæ Librorum, and all his silver spoons, with a cup and goblet, to the Fellows. His will also contained a bequest for the support of poor theological students at Oxford or elsewhere, if the University should be transferred to another site; which bequest seems to have taken no effect. He further left £100 for priests to pray for the soul of Walter de Merton, as well as of himself and his family.

Symon Renham. It is remarkable that his Christian name is given in the Old Catalogue. Anthony Wood mentions a William de Renham (1305) as a donor of books.

Richard de Stokys or **Stokes (1288).** Bishop Hobhouse finds the name of Richard de Stok in College accounts of 1286.

Robert de Scarle. He is mentioned in the Old Computus.

Adam de Schryvenham. He died about 1303.

— **Salsam.**

Walter de Segrave (1291). Sir H. Savile mentions one of this name as Bishop of Chichester, but Kilner doubts the fact; another 'Walter de Segrave' was Bursar in 1331.

Hugh de Staunton. He is recorded in the Old Catalogue to have given many books to the Library, among which, according to Anthony Wood, was *Boetius de Consolatione.*

Roger Sarx or **Sarum (1291).** He also was a donor of books.

John Schelvyng or **Schelnyng (1291).**

R. Scharle.

— **Scyphan**[1].

*'**Thomas de Sutton** (*temp.* **Henry III**), afterwards a preaching or Dominican Friar and Doctor of Divinity of the Sorbonne

[1] In his Catalogue of Merton Bishops, Anthony Wood mentions John de Stratford (1295), 'whose name occurs several times among the Fellows, in the Bursar's accounts,' as having 'probably' been Fellow. He was Archbishop of Canterbury in 1333, and died in 1348. Wood also considers John de Stratford's brother Robert, who became Bishop of Chichester and died in 1362, to have been 'of this College, but whether Fellow it appears not.' He was Chancellor of the University in 1335.

in Paris. He hath written and published many things, as Bostonus Buriensis and Ant. Sevensis testifie, but none of them have I seen, onlie a MS. in our Librarie which beareth this Title, *Quodlibeta Magistri Thomæ Sutton socii Domûs de Merton, Postmodum ordinis Prædicatorum.* The Beginning of which is, Quæsitum fuit de Deo, Creatore et Creaturis. He flourished and was in great renowne in 1290.'

*'**William de Shelton** (com. Cumberland), afterwards, if I mistake not, Treasurer of the Cathedral of Lync., to which church he gave certain *jocalia*.'

*'**Gilbert de Titing (1288)**, died anno 1289.'

*'— **Throrwetam (1299)**.'

*'**Philip de Thadden (1299)**, of kin to the Founder.' He is marked as 'uncertain.'

*'**Adam de Watlington** (*temp.* **Henry III**), com. Oxon. He gave to the Common Place for Books a Bible worth 20 shillings, &c.'

*'**William de Warwico** (*temp.* **Henry III**) occurs Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East 1297.'

John de Tytyngsale, died about 1289.

John de Threnele (1296).

Robert de Trenge (1291). He was afterwards the fifth Warden. [See above.]

Thomas de Wylton (1288). He was Rector of Lapworth in 1303. He is mentioned in the Old Computus.

Hugo de Wace (1297). He was admitted to the living of Brightwell in 1310.

John de Wendover (1284). The Old Catalogue states that he was afterwards Abbot of Oseney, but Anthony Wood points out that he must there be confounded with William Wendover, Abbot of Oseney in the reign of Henry VI. Nor can he be identified with John de Wendover, the eighth Warden, who lived in the reign of Richard II. He is mentioned in the Old Computus.

*'**Hugh Wale** or **Wage (1296)**. Of a good family.' He may probably be the same as Wace already mentioned.

*'— **Xanent (1306).** So written in a Bursar's accompt, 1309, he having been Fellow and Bachelor-Fellow for about five years before.'

Richard de Werplysdon or **Werblysdon.** He afterwards became the second Warden of Merton. [See above.]

William de Walcot (1296). One of this name is mentioned as Vicar of St. Peter's in 1320.

Thomas de Wytley (1299).

John de Wantyng (1288). He afterwards became the fourth Warden of Merton. [See above.]

William de Walmede (1289).

Henry de la Wyle or Wyly, S.T.P. (1284). He was nearly related to the Founder. In 1286 he was Senior Proctor. He lectured on Aristotle in the Public Schools of Oxford, and published Commentaries on that author, which were formerly in Magdalen College Library. In 1312 he was requested by the University to use his influence for the settlement of some Academical disputes at the Court of Rome. Meanwhile, he received various ecclesiastical preferments in the Diocese of Salisbury, of which he was Canon and Chancellor. He gave various MSS. to the Salisbury Library.

William Waleys or **Walleyce, A.M. (1306).** He was admitted to the Rectory of Lapworth in 1320[1].

[1] Astry here appends a list of College officers, not in the Catalogues of Fellows, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Kilwarby) at the Visitation of 1276, two years after the foundation, with the Founder's express sanction:—

Ralph de Leycester, first Sub-Warden. In 1278 he was presented by the college to the Vicarage of Dodington in Huntingdonshire, and may have been the same person who appears as Chancellor of Cambridge in 1289.

Gilbert de Moratton, first Senior or Estates Bursar.

Henry de Waneburn, first Second Bursar.

Albert de Alberwick, first Third Bursar. There is some doubt about his Christian name, and he is identified by Anthony Wood with Robert de Alberwyke, Provost of Beverley.

Thomas de Barnabye, first Senior Dean. He afterwards became a Franciscan monk.

William de Lee, first Second Dean. He is mentioned in the Old Computus, and may be identical with Ralph de Lee, already named as a Fellow.

Richard de Clivo or **de Clyve,** first Junior Dean. He appears in the roll of 'John Capellanus,' cited by Bishop Hobhouse, bearing date 1284. He was Chancellor of the University in 1297, and two following years. He was also a bene-

Reign of Edward II.

John de Abyndon (1321). He was Bursar in 1329-30. He appears as a Canon of Salisbury, and holding the prebend of Axford, in 1337. Astry states that he, with two other Fellows (Harington and Yefley), bore the expense of bringing water from the Cherwell, by an underground conduit near the Church of St. Cross, as far as the College, buying up a mill and two acres of land[1]. Kilner suggests that they only contributed towards it. In the Holywell Rolls of Edward I's reign there is an entry of almonds, sugar-candy, and liquorice, purchased for John de Abendon 'dum jacuit infirmus apud Holywell;' also of a mass celebrated on his behalf. The same three Fellows obtained a conveyance to the College of a plot in the north-western corner of the College gardens. [See Appendix A.]

Robert de Alburwyke. His name seems to be erroneously inscribed here, seeing that he is stated by Astry to have been admitted Provost of Beverley in 1304, and to have died in 1306. Anthony Wood places him among the Fellows in 1284, and he is mentioned in the Bursar's roll of 1285, cited by Bishop Hobhouse. He is said to have given many books to the Library.

Anthony Wood states that about the latter end of Edward I's reign **William de Alberwyke** was a student in Merton College. This William, who seems to have been Principal of Broadgates Hall, became Canon of York by the death of Adam de Blida in June 1331; Chancellor of the University in 1324; and Chancellor of the diocese of York.

factor of the Library. It does not appear clear whether he was the same with a Richard de Clyve, Abbot of Abingdon (1306), whom Astry describes as deprived of his office in 1315, but whom Anthony Wood represents to have been drowned in 1316, near Radley, with various officials of his Abbey, after dining with Sir Richard de Louches at Chiselhampton.

[1] Bishop Hobhouse identifies this conduit with that which the Founder obtained a licence to make from the Crown. He speaks of Abyngdon, Harington, and Yefley as the Committee appointed by the College to execute the work, which, if completed, may have been long in hand. He cites Astry, who derived his information from Hearne, as stating that the water was brought to the College in force sufficient to drive a mill.

Roger de Aston or **Asdon (1322).** Rog. Aston is also mentioned by Anthony Wood under 1347.

* '**John de Aldburne** or **Oldbourne (1326).**'

John de Aschton or **Assheton (1312).** Notwithstanding the different Christian names attributed to 'Aston' and 'Aschton,' it is difficult not to suspect their identity.

— **Bryce.** Anthony Wood identifies this Bryce with **Brice de Sharsted** (1306), who died in 1327, and was buried in the Church of the Minorites in London. He left the College all his books of Arts, Civil and Canon Law, also his books '*De animalibus Ethicorum.*' 'Brice' occurs as Bursar in a College account of 1311.

* '**John de Aylesbury (1321),** com. Bucks. Another of which name was Master of Arts and Fellow before 1291, who occurs not [for several years] among the Bursars' accompts before this yeare. One John de Eylesbury was Principal of Leonhall in St. Mary's Parish 1317, whom I suppose to be the same with this Mr. John de Aylesbury, who was Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, Commissarie of the Universitie of Ox. 1336, and about that time Deane of the Collegiate Church of South Malling (see another, Ed. III, 1364).'

Robert de Brydlington (1306). He was Proctor in 1311. In 1314 he is stated to have killed one Henry de Insulâ in a fray between the Northern and Southern students, which raged in St. John Baptist Street and Grope Lane (Grove Street). On this occasion Bridlington was on the Northern side, and took refuge in Goter Hall, which enfiladed Grope Lane, and from which he aimed the fatal shot with a bow. Some years later he appears as appealing to the Archbishop of Canterbury (who referred the matter to the Bishop of Lincoln) against injuries received from citizens of Oxford. He afterwards filled various preferments in the dioceses of Lincoln and York, being described as 'clericus familiaris Papæ,' in a Papal letter nominating him to the prebend of Ripon. He died in 1332.

Robert de Babington (1306). He was Principal of 'Corner

Hall,' and was appointed first Vicar of Wolford in 1332, when the Rectory was appropriated to the College. He seems to have died in 1341, and is said to have given books to the College.

Thomas de Bokyngham.

— **Beule.** He was perhaps the same as William de Beale or Beauley (1324).

Thomas de Bukmeere or **Bulmere (1313).** 'Bulmer' was Bursar in 1320. Anthony Wood also mentions **William de Bulmere (1313).**

* '**William Bulleyne 1320**).'

William de Barnaby or **Barneby (1310).** He was Proctor in 1315, and Bursar in 1321. He was nominated Prebendary of Southwell in 1318. It is doubtful whether he was the same William de Barnabie who migrated to Stamford, in 1334 or 1335, with other Masters and Scholars, to establish an University there.

Thomas de Bocton or **Bockton (1317).** One of this name was Sub-Dean of Salisbury in the fourteenth century. 'Botton' was Bursar in 1318.

Thomas de Bradwardyn, S.T.P. (1323). This great philosopher, who received from the Pope himself the scholastic title of '*Doctor Profundus*,' was of an old Herefordshire family, but was born at Hertfield, or Heathfield, in Sussex, and was an M.A. of some years' standing in 1323, when he first appears in the College books. In 1325 he was Proctor, and sent by the University on a mission to the Bishop of Lincoln. He afterwards became successively Chaplain to the Bishop of Durham, Canon of Lincoln, Canon of St. Paul's, and Chancellor of St. Paul's (1337). Having already been made Confessor to Edward III, he accompanied that King to France, and was employed by him in negotiations with the French King. Fuller tells us that he was assiduous in his spiritual ministrations to the troops. In 1346 he was created by Edward III Archdeacon of Norwich, and in 1348 was elected Archbishop of Canterbury. But, as the King and Pope

agreed in preferring Ufford, he was put aside until Ufford's death, which occurred in the following year. He was then re-elected, confirmed by the King, and nominated 'jure provisionis' by Pope Clement VI, ignorant of Ufford's death, and was consecrated at Avignon in the summer of 1349. On his return home he died at Lambeth, scarcely forty days after his consecration, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. He wrote several works, of which the best known is his treatise '*De Causâ Dei*,' consisting of lectures delivered at Oxford, and published at the request of his Merton friends. This work was edited, in 1618, by Sir Henry Savile, who mentions that, as chaplain to Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, he was associated with several other clergymen, mostly of Merton, and who gives an interesting description of the scholarly intercourse between the Bishop and his young chaplains.

— **Bryknale** or **Bricknell.**

William Burglon or **Burgelon (1326).**

Robert Basyng (1313). He was of kin to the Founder.

T. Brugh or **Bruggs.** Bishop Hobhouse finds the name of Thomas Bruges in College accounts of 1286.

Thomas Chermyster (1300). He was the author of '*Quæstiones super Priscianum.*' He seems to have been Bursar in 1309.

— **Chancy.**

William de Chetham or **Chatham (1324).**

Thomas de Corbrygg. He was made Canon of Lincoln by Papal provision in 1318, but his name is marked as 'doubtful' by Astry.

* '**William de Corbrygge.** One Alan de Corbrygg was also about this time of Merton College.'

* '**Croston** or **Crofton (1313).**'

John de Combe (1313).

John Clef or **de Cliva.** One of this name was presented to the Rectory of Lapworth in 1286, and was reckoned by Anthony Wood among the Fellows in the reign of Henry III, whence Kilner infers that the name is wrongly entered here.

Peter and William de Clyve are mentioned, respectively, in the years 1321 and 1322; and a 'William Clay,' as Bursar, in 1322.

— **Cray**, perhaps the same as **Cary**.

Richard de Cotstede or **Cotestead** (1320).

— **Clunlode**.

William de Chelton or **Shelton** (1318). He was Senior Proctor in 1322, and Chancellor of the University in 1339. In 1337 he became a Canon of Wells, and died there in the Close in 1353. He presented to the University a chest, with 100 marks in it, to be laid out, on loan, for the relief of poor Scholars[1].

William Combe (1311). Anthony Wood finds also the name of **Richard de Combe** (1322).

Thomas de Croydon (1314).

Richard de Cleange. He is said to have been Prebendary of St. David's, but is marked as 'doubtful' by Astry.

* '**William de Coule** or **Coulay** (1320).'

Thomas or **John de Dumbleton**. According to Anthony Wood, the Dumbleton who ought to be here entered is Thomas de Dumbleton, whose name occurs in the College accounts for the year 1324, and who is confounded by the compilers of the Catalogues with John de Dumbleton, a famous philosopher and theologian. There was, indeed, a John de Dumbleton of Merton whose name occurs in the College accounts for 1331, 1344, and 1349, and who also appears among the first Fellows of Queen's in 1340. But Wood contends that he cannot have been the same with the philosopher mentioned by Leland, Bale, and others, inasmuch as this Dumbleton is said to have flourished in 1320. It is, however, possible, at least, that Merton produced two John de Dumbletons, of whom the earlier was the philosopher and was miscalled Thomas in the accounts of 1324.

William Durante or **Durand**. He became the sixth Warden.

[1] For an account of this and other 'Chests,' see Introduction to **Anstey's** *Munimenta Academica*, pp. xxxvi–xliii.

[See above.] Anthony Wood finds another William Durant mentioned as Bursar in 1365.

John Douns or **Duns**, surnamed **Scotus, S.T.P.** Duns Scotus is recognised by Anthony Wood as a Fellow of Merton and placed under the year 1292[1], though Wood adds: 'I find him not mentioned in our accounts; only at the end.' He was born in the parish of Emildon (Embleton), and joined the Franciscan monks of Newcastle, by whom he was sent to Oxford, and became a Fellow of Merton—though, according to others, he left the College to become a Franciscan. He was honoured by the Pope himself with the scholastic title of *Doctor Subtilis*, and occupied a position among the Schoolmen only second to that of Thomas Aquinas. About 1301 he was made Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and after lecturing there for two or three years was summoned to Paris, whence he was transferred in 1308 to Cologne. He died the same year in a Franciscan convent, and, according to an old mediæval story, was prematurely buried.

William de Estry or **Astrey.** Anthony Wood enters this name under Edward I (1305).

* '**Matthew de Elam** or **Elham (1313).**'

Richard de Elyngdon or **Elindon (1318).** He was admitted to the Rectory of Lapworth in 1361 and died in 1367.

— **Eston.** Perhaps the same as Aston already named.

John de Emeligdon. Anthony Wood enters this name with variations, as Hemlington, Emildon, and Hemelton, under Edward I (1305).

* '— **Faynham (1316).**'

John Grene or **Green.** He is entered in the Catalogues as afterwards Prior of the Monastery of Worcester; but it appears that John Green, a Prior of Worcester, was elected Bishop of Worcester in 1395, but set aside by Papal provision. This John Green can hardly have been Fellow in Edward II's reign,

[1] Kilner cites a note appended in 1451 to a MS. of Duns Scotus in Merton College Library which distinctly claims him as a Fellow of Merton. This note bears the signature of John Reynbold.

but, on the other hand, a John de Greene is mentioned in a Computus of Wantyng, the fourth Warden. [See John Green below, under the reign of Edward III.]

* 'Robert de Gillingham (1326), com. Dors., D.D., Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-Easte, Oxon. He gave several books to the Library, but what I have not yet seen.'

John de la Grave (1305). He was Proctor in 1313. Anthony Wood found him entitled 'Magister' in 1309. He is not mentioned in the Old Catalogue.

John de Grenvyle (1310). One of this name, probably the same, is mentioned as a Master in 1326. He was one of those through whom the site of the Corpus Christi College Garden was acquired by the College.

— Goodstede. Anthony Wood identifies this name with 'Cotstede,' above.

Robert Herington.

William Harrington or Haryngton, S.T.P. He was Bursar in 1331–2, and Proctor, with Bradwardine, in 1325; he gave several books to the Library. He died in 1344. One of this name was Canon of Lincoln in 1316.

* '— Heth or Heath (1326). Of kin to the Founder. Elected about the latter end of King Edward II; Inceptor in Arts 1331.'

— Humblynton or Humbleton (1313).

— Hesmynton.

Robert de Hegynton (1310). The name of 'Heytynton' occurs in the year 1315, and Anthony Wood subjoins the note: 'This year a new kitchen was built, *et una domus juxta pistrinum.*'

Robert de Hardlei or Hardle (1325). He is marked as 'doubtful' by Astry, and is mentioned as among the first Fellows of Queen's in 1340.

Walter de Horkstowe, S.T.P. (1306). He was Bursar in 1316 and 1323. In 1312, he was one of the delegates sent by Oxford to Rome for the settlement of disputes which had arisen between the University and the Preaching Friars. In

1329 he was made a Canon of Lincoln by Papal provision. He gave books to the Library, and, dying in the reign of Edward III, was buried in the Choir, where his grave was marked by a large marble tombstone with a Saxon inscription, on the left of that in memory of Warden de Trenge.

— **Humberston** or **Homerston** (**1326**). He is mentioned as a donor of books.

* '**Robert Kary** (alias Cary, alias Cervinus), (**1322**).'

— **Kelsall.** Anthony Wood identifies him with William de Kershall, to whom he gives the date 1305.

— **Longnor.** Anthony Wood finds the name Langnore in 1306.

Robert de Longwyk or **Lengwyke** (**1324**).

Roger Lunde or **Lount** (**1313**). He gave to the Library a 'Book of Sentences' by Peter Lombard.

* '**Adam de la Luda** (**1315**).'

* '**F. de Lund** (**1316**).'

— **Laure.** He is said to have given certain books for the use of the Junior Bachelors, and others for the Library. Anthony Wood believes 'Laure' to be an abridgement of Laurence, and the Fellow intended to have been one Laurence de London, whose name occurs in 1307, and again with the title of 'Magister' in 1313. Astry, however, identifies him with one William de Lorynge, whom he asserts to have been certainly a Fellow, though omitted in the Catalogues, probably in the reign of Edward III, and to have left pensions for scholars.

Roger de London.

— **Lount**; probably the same as Lunde, above.

John Mauduith or **Maudith.** He was a renowned physician, astronomer, and theologian, whom Anthony Wood supposes to have been elected about 1305, and to have lived up to, if not beyond, 1340. He was an inmate of Richard de Bury's house at Durham. He left 40*s.* to the University, to be kept in 'St. Frideswyde's chest.' Astry says that he long resided in the College, and was an ornament of it so late as

1346. 'Maudit' occurs as Bursar in a College account of 1311.

Richard Middleton, S.T.P. He is marked as 'doubtful' by Astry, who shares the doubt of Anthony Wood as to whether the Middleton here placed in the Catalogue is the well-known Minorite doctor of that name, who flourished and probably died in Edward I's reign. Wood finds the names of John, William, and Roger de Middleton, under the years 1313, 1316, and 1324, respectively.

— **Midsete.**

— **Medys.**

John de Northflete (1313).

* 'T. de Norton (1313).'

Nigel de Waver, Wavery, or **Waure, S.T.P.** (1312). He was Chancellor of the University in 1330, being then Canon of St. David's, and again in 1331. He was also Canon of Chichester in 1337, and Prebendary of Lichfield in 1349. He gave several books to the Library.

John de Osmynton (1312). He gave several books to the Library.

John de Offord or **Ufford** (1314). Anthony Wood supposes him to be the same Ufford who, being perhaps related to the Earl of Suffolk, became Dean of Lincoln, Chancellor of England, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1348, when he was preferred to Bradwardine, and succeeded Stratford, though he died in the same year, and never even received consecration.

William Occham or **de Occam.** The name of this great philosopher does not occur in the Old Catalogue, and his connection with Merton College seems to rest almost entirely on the authority of Sir Henry Savile, who cites an entry in a College MS. which Kilner failed to find. Anthony Wood remarks that his name is not to be found in any writing belonging to the College, but that he is supposed to have studied at Merton College before he entered into the Order of St. Francis, and he is asserted, on doubtful authority, to have

made allusion in his own works to his Merton education. Astry states that a certain William de Okham was presented to the Rectory of Langeton in 1300, took part in a Provincial Council at York in 1311, and held the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the Diocese of Lincoln, up to 1319.

The celebrated William of Occham, the great apostle of Nominalism, first the disciple and afterwards the opponent of Duns Scotus, was made Provincial of the Minorites in England, in 1322. He received, on Papal authority, the scholastic title of '*Doctor Invincibilis*,' and became a noted teacher in the Schools of Paris. He afterwards fell under the ban of Pope John XXII, and attached himself to the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, whom he is said to have addressed with the words, *Tu me defendas gladio, et ego te defendam calamo.* According to one account, he died and was buried at Munich in 1347; according to another, he lived until 1350, at least, and was buried at Capua.

John de Odyham (1312). He was of the Founder's kin. He appears as Bursar in a College account of 1312[1].

William de Perscore or Pershore (1324).

Walter Perley. Anthony Wood designates him as Reginald de Parley or Purley, and assigns to him the date 1306. He was Rector of Sherston.

— **Pyrbroke (1313).**

Adam Pypwell or Pipewell (1326).

Gilbert Peckham (1324). He is identified by the Old Catalogue with Peckham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, it is added, led a holy life, and performed numerous miracles after his death. But the Archbishop's name was John, and the date of his consecration 1278. Kilner suspects Peckham's name to have been erroneously substituted in the Old Catalogue for Ockham's, which ought to have been here entered. Richard de Pecham occurs as Bursar in 1350–1.

[1] In the next generation Thomas de Odyham constantly appears as 'Procurator,' or agent, of the College.

William de Pax (1314). Anthony Wood supposes him to have been of the Founder's kin.

William Redyng, S.T.P. He was a Carmelite Friar, said to have flourished in 1312, and to have attended the Council of Vienna, where the Order of Templars was condemned. But Astry believes the Redyng of the Old Catalogue to be either Thomas de Redyng, Proctor in 1331, or Nicholas de Redyng (mentioned below), Proctor in 1355, as well as Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East. A 'Redyng' was Bursar in 1360–1 and afterwards.

John Reynham or Renham, S.T.P. (1323). He was Bursar in 1330. According to Anthony Wood, he gave the Library Augustine's 'Homilies,' and several philosophical works. A certain John de Reynham was Chancellor of Oxford in 1362. Anthony Wood places a John Reynham, probably the same, in 1334.

Henry Reynham (?1324). A William de Renham was among the original Fellows of Queen's.

*'**John Shelwynge (1321)**, different from him mentioned in 1291.'

John Scholdon or de Scholon (1324).

*'**Simon de Staunton (1322).**'

*'**Hugh de Staunton (1326)**, occurs by the title of Mr., 1334. Sub-Warden 1339, and therefore different from Hugh Staunton in 1291.'

*'**John Severley (1325)**, sometimes written (but falsely) Seveley.'

Stephanus de Bosco. He is perhaps the same as (De Bosco) Boys, already mentioned under Edward I's reign.

William de Sunnyng (1310).

Peter de Scolacleph or Scolarley (1312).

— Salysbury.

Adam de Stratton (1313). The name of Stratton (probably the same) occurs again in 1334 and 1339.

William de Skelton or Shelton (1318). He has been already noticed under the name 'Chelton.' 'William de Skelton' appears as Bursar in 1324 and 1330–1.

— **Sedley.**

John de Sandewych or **Sandwych** (**1320**). Anthony Wood also speaks of a 'Mich. Sandwych.'

— **Stanley.**

*'**Hugh de Straferne** or **Straverne** (**1310**).'

*'**John De Stratford** (**1295**), (whose name occurring several times among the Fellows in the Bursars' Accompt, seems to have been Fellow, was born at Stratford-on-Avon, and son of Robert de Stratford and Isabel his wife), afterwards Doctor of the Civil Law, about 1312 (see the Annals), Dean of the Arches, Secretary to King Edward II, Bishop of Winchester 1323, and in 1333 Archbishop of Canterbury. He wrote several matters relating to the Canon and Civil Law, but whether extant, I know not.' Sir H. Savile claimed Stratford as a Fellow of Merton, and Anthony Wood considers the positive fact of this name occurring in the Bursars' accounts to outweigh the negative fact of its not occurring in the Catalogues. He also mentions Robert de Stratford, afterwards Chancellor of England and Bishop of Chichester, as 'of Merton College, but whether Fellow, it appears not;' and he notices Ralph de Stratford, afterwards Bishop of London, as educated at Oxford, though perhaps not at Merton.

John de Twislington. He was among those who lectured at Stamford in 1335. Anthony Wood mentions an Adam de Twyslyngton under the year 1324.

Robert—or **John**—**Winchelsey, S.T.P.** The name 'Robert' prefixed to 'Winchelsey' in the Old Catalogue is of a later date, and designed to identify Winchelsey, the Fellow of Merton, with Robert de Winchelsey, Chancellor of the University in 1288, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1294. The other Catalogues, with Fuller and other authors, seem to have followed the authority of the Old Catalogue, and Wood himself thinks it likely that Robert de Winchelsey may have studied at Merton. The name of John de Winchelsey is placed second in the English Catalogue of Anthony Wood, who describes

him as an eminent divine and philosopher. He was a Fellow of Merton in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, but in advanced life entered a Franciscan monastery at Salisbury, and died there in 1326. One of the same name was Incumbent of Wood Eaton, and Prebendary of Lincoln.

— **Wywardby.**

Robert de Wakefeld (1324).

Edward or **Richard de Wyke.** Edward de Wyke is mentioned by Anthony Wood under the year 1330, and was Proctor in 1333. He mentions Richard de Wyke under the year 1313, and one Richard de Wyking is recorded to have given books to the Library.

*'**Mich. de Wyke** was Sub-Dean of Sarum 1337.'

*'**William de Walemet** or **Walemede (1326)**, different from him in 1291.'

*'— **Watele** or **Whateley (1310).** [A writer; qu. Pits. 1310; v. Hist.]'

*'**Sim. de Westcombe**, or **Wexcombe**, or **Vescombe (1326).**'

*'**Raphe de Wantynge**, c. Berks (1313).'

*'**John de Wyly (1322).** Of kin as it seems to the Founder.' He was Bursar in 1329–30 and 1330–1.

*'**Henry de Ybeston (1310)**, com. Ox.'

Walter de Woxbrygge or **Uxbridge (1323).**

— **Wysylton.** He is identified by Anthony Wood with Twyslyngton, above.

Robert Wantynge.

Peter de Wantynge (1317).

William Wantynge (1326). He was among the first Fellows of Queen's College.

Richard Wantyng (1310).

— **Wolmeere.**

— **Wavere.** Astry conjectures that Wavere may be the Nigel de Waver or Waure mentioned above, but Anthony Wood finds a Giles de Wavery mentioned in 1324.

Thomas de Upton or **Opton (1313).** He is marked as 'doubtful' by Astry, but is mentioned in the Old Catalogue.

Both Thomas and Robert de Upton are said to have been supporters of Wylliot in the disturbances of 1349.

Robert de Vylers. He is marked as 'doubtful' by Astry, but Anthony Wood finds John de Vilers mentioned in 1336, and Bishop Hobhouse also finds it noted that '*Vilers itineravit ad Boream.*'

Simon Yslep or Islip, LL.D. (1307). He was a man of great theological learning, who, after filling various ecclesiastical preferments, became Canon of Lincoln and St. Paul's, Dean of the Arches Court, Secretary to the King, and, at last, Archbishop of Canterbury. Astry states that when he was Canon of Lincoln, the Bishop vainly requested the Chapter to grant him leave of absence that he might assist himself at a Parliament to be held in London, though he was granted leave that he might attend to some Chapter-business then pending before the Courts. Among the many proofs of Royal favour which he received was his appointment to serve on the Council of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. He was consecrated Archbishop at St. Paul's on December 20, 1349. In 1361 he obtained a license to found Canterbury College, for the increase of the secular as well as the regular clergy, whose ministrations are there said to have been greatly limited by 'the present epidemic'—probably the sickness which prevailed at Oxford, as a sequel of the Black Death. Of this College he made John Wyclif the first Master or Warden, choosing him out of a list of three, after the Merton custom. His statutes for the College were also based on the model of the Merton statutes, and he enjoined that no books belonging to Canterbury should be lent except to members of Merton. He died in 1366, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. He gave the College what is described in a note to the Old Catalogue as '*bonum vestimentum, cum capâ.*'

Richard de Zacle, Zatele, or Yatele (1313). 'Yately' was Bursar in 1318. He gave the Library 'a Scholastical History worth eighteen shillings.'

Simon de Zyfele, Zifley, or **Yeifley** ('Iffley'), **(1321)**. He was Proctor in 1322. 'Ifftele' appears as Bursar in 1330–1.

Reign of Edward III.

William Arden or **Arderne (1350)**. He is mentioned in 1358, and was Fellow in 1375.

— Aldborn.

*'— **Aylesbury (1364)**. Of kin to the Founder.' [Two others of this name have already been mentioned as Fellows, 'before 1291' and in 1321, respectively.]

*'— **Alderney**. Vet. Cat.'

*'**John Aiston**, or **Ayston**, or **Aschton (1371)**. A great admirer and follower of Wyclif.' He was condemned for heresy in 1383.

Richard de Aynho. He was Bursar in 1346–7.

John Ashindon or **Ashinden**, also called **Eastwood (1338)**. According to Anthony Wood he was the greatest mathematician and astronomer ever produced by Merton College, as well as an eminent physician. In these researches he was aided by his brother-Fellow William Rede, and published treatises in concert with him, besides several under his own name. His works are cited with great respect by Pico de Mirandola. Anthony Wood dates from him a succession of mathematical and astronomical students at Merton, extending over at least a hundred and fifty years after his time. But he (Anthony Wood) adds that nearly all their works disappeared from the College Library—probably together with many hundred volumes of school divinity—during the Visitation in the early part of Edward VI's reign, when such books relating to natural science, being regarded as profane, if not diabolical, were burned or sold as waste-paper. Not less than a cartload of valuable MSS. are said to have been thus abstracted from Merton College Library. This statement Anthony Wood makes on the authority of Thomas Allen, 'the famous mathematician of Gloucester Hall' in the reign of Elizabeth, whose

evidence was reported to Wood himself by John Wilton, Chaplain of Merton.

Nicholas Aleyn or **Alayn (1365).** He was Vicar of Wolford in 1368.

— **Asmede.**

Laurence Albon, Aldborn, or **St. Alban's (1344).** He was one of the Masters who supported Wylliott's tumultuous election to the Chancellorship in 1349.

Robert de Aylesham or **Alsham, S.T.B. (1364).** He was Proctor in 1367 and 1368, Bursar in 1367–8, Commissary, or Vice-Chancellor, in 1377, and Chancellor in 1379—the year of his death.

— **Ardle.**

— **Alkyrton** or **Walkyngton (1347).** Anthony Wood, who assigns this date to Alkyrton, finds also a Richard Alkyrton or Alkrynton mentioned in 1374, and says that he was Sub-Warden in 1384 and 1389.

Thomas de Bokeland or **Boklond, S.T.B. (1339).** He was Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, and died before 1362.

Richard de Byllyngham (1344). He appears in the Savile Catalogue under the reign of Edward II. He was a great dialectician, and compiled a table of Logic and Philosophy, which he presented to the College Library. He is said to have been a leading promoter of Wylliott's 'violent' election, but was appointed by the King a Commissioner to investigate and settle the affair. He appears as Bursar oftener than any other Fellow between 1344 and 1356—the year in which the name of Wyclif appears in his account.

William Berton, S.T.P. (1356). He was Chancellor of the University in 1379, 1380 (when he obtained a writ for the repair of the city pavements), 1381, and 1382. He is described as a man of learning and capacity, but having strenuously denounced Wyclif, and promulgated in the Schools the public condemnation of Wyclif's doctrines, he is supposed to have prudently retired from the Chancellorship, when those doctrines seemed to be in the ascendant.

— **Burrige** or **Buryng (1351).**

*'**William Burginton** or **Burgenum** (1334). The same, I think, with William Burgelon in 1326.'

Richard Benger (1356). He was afterwards a Fellow of Canterbury College, but expelled thence, with Wyclif, by direction of the Papal Commissary, in 1369.

Thomas Bernard (1330). He was of the Founder's kin.

— **Bromle** or **Bramley** (1366).

John Bloxham, S.T.P. (1352). He became Warden in 1375 (see above).

John de Burcoth or **Burcote.** He died in his Bursarship, in the year 1349.

Simon Bredon, M.D. (1330). He was originally a Fellow of Balliol, but migrated to Merton, and, 'by the severe discipline there used,' became a noted physician, mathematician, and astronomer. In the latter capacity he wrote in 1345 on the eclipse of that year, and he was the author of various other treatises. He was Canon of Chichester, and Warden of the Hospital at Maidstone. He was much associated with William Rede, and contributed a large number of old books to the Merton Library erected by Rede. Like Rede, too, he was a benefactor of the Libraries at Queen's, Exeter, Balliol, and Oriel Colleges. He died in 1372.

Thomas Brightwell or **Brytwell, S.T.P.** (1368). He was Canon of St. Paul's, Prebendary of Lincoln, and Dean of the Collegiate Church of Newark. Having been an adherent of Wyclif, he is described as having been severely handled by the Archbishop of Canterbury on this account in 1382. However, it was after that year that he obtained his various preferments, and he became Chancellor of the University in 1388 as well as in 1389. He died in 1390.

— **Brownyng** (1368). All the Catalogues recognise two of this name in the reign of Edward III, but Anthony Wood inserts only one. The second follows the name of John de Banbury, below.

Thomas de Buckingham or **Bokynham** (1324). Anthony Wood finds this name in Merton documents between 1324

and 1356, but cannot satisfy himself whether the Merton Thomas de Buckingham was the same with one of that name, and a D.D. of Oxford, who became Chancellor of the diocese of Exeter. Astry also finds a Thomas de Buckingham Chancellor 'of the Church of Oxford' in 1346.

On the other hand, Anthony Wood gives the name of *John* de Buckingham under the year 1356, and recognises him as 'if not fellow, a student,' distinguishing him from a namesake who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1363. Kilner arrives at the same conclusion.

* '— **Brynn (1377).**'

* '**Simon Banbury (1376).** Died 1383.'

* '— **Blacklaw (1377).**'

* '**William Boys or du Bosco (1334).**'

John Body (1334). The name thus written may possibly be a contraction of Bodycote, placed by Anthony Wood under the year 1374.

John de Banbury, A.M. (1374). He is described by Astry as a chief supporter of Wylliott in 1349, and as one of those who agitated against the 'Jurists' in 1376. Wood distinguishes two John de Banburys, assigning the date 1344 to the earlier.

William Blankpayn, S.T.P. (1352). He appears as Bursar in 1364–5 and afterwards, was one of the Senior Fellows in 1371, and was afterwards Rector of Orsett in Essex. He was a benefactor of the College Library.

Thomas de Brystow or **Bristol (1330).**

John Beaugrant or **Bengrant.** He was presented to the Rectory of Lapworth in 1367, and afterwards exchanged it for that of Stoke-Priors.

— **Balynden (1377).**

Philip Codeford, LL.D. He was one of those who promoted the tumultuous election of Wylliott in 1349. In the following year, however, he was one of the Commissioners appointed by Archbishop Islip to settle the vexed questions arising out of that event. He was also a Canon of Salisbury

and Vicar-General of the Bishop of London. In 1362 he was Keeper of the Privy Seal, and one of the Proctors for the convention between Edward III and the King of Castile. He died in 1377.

— **Cotysford** or **Cotesford (1352).**

John Caldwell (1365).

Richard Cleangre or **Cleange (1330).** He was of the Founder's kin, and gave books to the Library. He may be the same as one of this name mentioned under the reign of Edward II.

— **Caps (1371).**

William de Colyngham (1331). He is mentioned among the original Fellows of Queen's, but with the date 1354, and (perhaps for this reason) is marked as 'doubtful' by Astry.

*'**Robert Clyff** or **de Clyve (1344).** Of kin to the Founder.' This name appears on the indenture which seems to be the original of the Old Catalogue, but is there crossed through.

John Covyngham, probably miswritten for **Coryngham (1374).** He was Canon of Windsor and Registrar of the Order of the Garter. He is said to have died in 1445, in which case he can scarcely have been less than ninety years of age.

William Castell (1344).

*'**Robert Causy** or **Caucy (1339).**'

*'— **Caute** or **Cante (1345).**'

Thomas Crook or **Croke (1344).**

— **Chamber (1364).** One of this name was Precentor of Salisbury in 1377.

John Chestyr or **Chestre (1348).** He was Bursar in 1368–9 and afterwards.

Thomas de Cranleigh or **Cranley, S.T.P. (1366).** He is described by Astry as a singularly handsome and vigorous man, a great divine and preacher, remarkably charitable, and much addicted to building. He was Principal of Hart Hall in 1384, Chancellor of the University in 1390, Warden of New College (so designated by the Founder himself) in 1393,

Archbishop of Dublin in 1397[1], Chancellor of Ireland in 1398 and again in 1413, and Justiciary or Viceroy of Ireland in 1414. In 1417 he returned to England, died at Faringdon, and was buried in New College Chapel, being then above eighty.

— **Doly** or **D'Oyly (1338).**

— **Dylsham** or **Dolesham (1371).**

Thomas Dollyng or **Dolling, A.M. (1374).** He was of the Founder's kin, and was Bursar in 1389–90. He presented the College with four brass candelabra, and afterwards left all his goods to it. He died in 1400 according to Astry, in 1420 according to Kilner, and was buried in the outer-chapel.

— **Dudcote** (Didcot).

* '**W. Durant (1365).** Bursar this year, 1365.'

— **Dyrhampton.** Anthony Wood finds the name of Adam de Dischampton mentioned in 1344.

— **Enysham.** Probably the same as Walter de Evesham, placed by Anthony Wood under 1331.

William Elham (1338).

Henry Edcrove or **Edgrove (1345).**

Richard Elyndon (1338). Anthony Wood distinguishes him from his namesake (1318).

— **Emisham.**

Richard de Eynhowe (? Aynho), **(1334).**

Walter Estcolme (1349). He was elected from Exeter College.

— **Elmbrugg** or **Elmbridge (1364).**

Richard Emyldon (1357).

— **Finemere.** Anthony Wood enters 'Rob. Finmere' under 1326, and says that he occurs Master in 1330.

— **Frankys (1366).**

William Farynton, S.T.P. After receiving various preferments from the Crown, he was Commissary or Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1397 and 1401. In 1405–6, as

[1] Such is Anthony Wood's deliberate conclusion, though he omits to mention him in his list of Merton Bishops.

'Senior Theologus,' he acted for the Chancellor. Having come into possession of a house in Holywell, he made it over to the Warden (Edmund Bekyngham) and 'certain Fellows' of Merton. He was appointed Chancellor of Salisbury in 1409, and died in 1415.

Roger Falley (? **Fawley**), (1339).

— **Frelond** (1347).

Thomas Farnelow or **Farnylaw** (1339). He was Vicar of Embleton, and promoted by Papal provision, in 1369, to be Chancellor of York. He died in 1379, leaving to the College, if his goods should suffice after payment of his debts, two golden cups with another piece of plate to be used on guest-days and feast-days, as well as certain books for the use of the Warden.

Richard Fitz-Symonde (1371).

— **Faynlow**. He is identified by Anthony Wood with **Farnelow** already mentioned.

John Fabyan or **Fabian** (1349).

— **Farleigh** or **Farley**.

— **Fanden**.

— **Glowcester** (1339). Kilner mentions him as Simon de Glocester.

Robert de Gyllingham. He was presented to the Vicarage of St. Peter's-in-the-East in 1338.

John de Gotham. Anthony Wood enters him under 1326. He was Proctor in 1333. This name being indistinctly written in the Old Catalogue, the name **Gorham** has been subjoined in a later hand, and Nicholas Gorham, a celebrated theologian and preaching friar, is claimed in the Savile and Wilson Catalogues as a Fellow of Merton. Anthony Wood states that Gorham's name does not occur in the accounts, and does not reckon him among the Merton writers, but believes him to have studied in the College about 1353. Leland positively states this, on the authority of a MS., which he had seen himself, of Gorham's composition.

John Green, S.T.P. (1365). Having been first Prior of

Worcester, he was unanimously elected Bishop of Worcester in 1395, and the election was confirmed by the King, at whose request, however, it was annulled by Papal provision. He died in the same year.

— **Greynhil.** Perhaps the same as **Grenvyle** mentioned above under Edward II's reign.

— **Gates (1347).**

— **Graspays** or **Craspaise (1331).**

— **Gonwarby (1371).**

— **Golden** or **Gilden (1344).**

— **Hedecron.**

— **Heddelham**, or **Hedlam**, or **Hadlam (1365).**

Richard Heriard (1334). He was of the Founder's kin.

— **Heth (1346).** He was of the Founder's kin, and may have been the same with Nicholas Heth, Prebendary of York in 1382.

William de Hettysbury or **Heytesbury, S.T.P. (1330).** He was Bursar in 1338, and became Chancellor of the University in 1371. Anthony Wood doubts whether he was the same William of Heytesbury celebrated as a casuist about 1380, and it is also doubtful whether he was the same as Hoghtelbury mentioned among the original Fellows of Queen's in 1340.

*'**John de Hothum (1330).** Was Bursar in 1339 and 1344, and therefore cannot be that John Hothum who became provost of Queen's College in 1343, nor can I say that he was that John Hothum, D.D., who was Chancellor of the University 1357–59, or that John Hothum, D.D., and Rector of Chinnor in Oxfordshire, who, dying 1351, was buried in the chancel there.'

Thomas Hulman or **Hilman, S.T.P. (1364).** He was a disciple of Wyclif, but recanted in 1383.

John Hayne (1340). He became Rector of Lapworth in 1349.

Thomas or **John Hardrys** or **Hardres (1344).** He was among the Mertonians who supported the tumultuous election of Wylliott in 1349.

William Horsham (1374).

Robert Hodyrsale or **Hodersale (1370).** He is mentioned as executor of a will in 1405.

Thomas Halden or **Alden (1368).**

John de Hondysdon or **Huntesden (1330).** He was presented to the living of Ibston in 1335, and died in 1341.

John Joskyn (1350). He was Bursar in 1360–1 and afterwards, and Proctor in 1357.

William James (1376). He was a friend of Robert Rygge, the Chancellor of the University, and having publicly defended Wyclif's doctrine on the Eucharist, was expelled from Oxford in 1382 by order of Richard II, but restored by letters from Henry IV in 1399.

Robert de Kenebell or **Kynbell (1322).** He was Bursar in 1327. Anthony Wood enters him under 1321.

Peter de Kaynsham or **Keynsham (1346).** He gave books to the Library.

*'— **Kary (1366).**'

— **Kettylby** or **Ketelby (1344).**

John Loke (1339). If this date be correct, the Christian name should probably be 'Roger,' as Roger Loke is mentioned in a Merton record of 1344. 'John Loke' of Merton, however, was Proctor in 1396.

William de Lynham (1330). The same name occurs in a record of 1376.

Leverton or **Leverington (1338).**

Simon Lamborn, S.T.P. (1347). He was Bursar in 1354–5, and Proctor in 1361. He is said in the Old Catalogue to have afterwards become a Minorite Friar, but Anthony Wood supposes this incident to have been borrowed from the life of Reginald Lamborn, also of Merton, a disciple of John Aschendon and William Rede.

Robert Lamborn—probably misnamed for Reginald. He is marked as 'doubtful' by Astry, who erroneously states that he is not mentioned in the Old Catalogue.

— **Langberg** or **Langborow, S.T.P.** (1357). He also is said to have become a Minorite.

— **Lucoby** or **Lucebye** (1331).

Robert Lynchlade (1338). He was an eminent follower of Wyclif, and is specially mentioned in a letter from Richard II to the Chancellor of Oxford, issued in 1399, and urging him to extirpate the Lollards.

— **Lounde.**

— **Lucy** or **Lucie** (1347).

— **Ledenham.**

— **Lemyngton.** The name of John de Limyngton occurs in 1326, and is inserted by Anthony Wood under Edward II.

John de Lyndon, S.T.P. (1371). He was Bursar in 1376–7, and Commissary of the University in 1389.

— **Leverington.** See 'Leverton' above.

William Loryng or **Loringe, S.T.P.** (1376). He was Rector of Henley-on-Thames and Canon of Salisbury. He left books to the Library, as well as Exhibitions for scholars, and was buried in the outer-chapel, to which he had contributed liberally. His name is omitted in the Catalogues, but Anthony Wood and Astry have reinstated him among Fellows of Merton [1].

Walter Moryng or **Moreyne** (1344). Anthony Wood says that he died before 1364.

Simon Mepham, S.T.P. (1296). If this name be properly claimed for Merton, it is clearly misplaced, for Simon Mepham became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1328, and died in 1333. The title of Archbishop is appended to Mepham's name in the Old Catalogue, but in a later hand. This statement is adopted by other writers, but not by Anthony Wood, who

[1] It appears from a memorandum of the Chancellor's Court dated March 5, 1386, and preserved in Rogers's History of Prices, vol. ii. p. 667, that a Master-Fellow of Merton, named Richard Lythum, was expelled in that year for immoral and disorderly conduct. His name does not occur in the Catalogues, nor is it easy to understand why the Warden and Fellows should have requested the Chancellor, as this memorandum shows, to record and confirm a sentence which they had an undoubted right to enforce.

regards Mepham's connection with Merton as mythical, and is followed by Astry.

Robert de Mydlond (1330). He was Bursar in 1345–7. He was Canon of York, having obtained this position after a long dispute, which was ultimately settled by the Court of Rome in 1366. He was also Treasurer of the Chapter at Exeter, and died either in 1367 or 1370.

William de Mumby (1338). He was presented to the living of Ibston in 1341.

Hugo Monyngton (1334).

John Maundover, S.T.P. (1352). He was Archdeacon of Durham, and appears as Prebendary of Wells in 1391, but is marked by Astry as 'doubtful[1].'

Roger Myddylton. His name occurs in 1327, and should therefore be placed under Edward II's reign.

Richard Medmenham (1339). He was one of those commissioned to decide the dispute between the University and the Bishop of Lincoln about the election of the Chancellor in 1350. He was the survivor of four Fellows who had bought Christopher Hall and Nevyll's Inne, now included in the site of Corpus Christi College, and, in this capacity, sold these tenements to John (? Thomas) de Buckingham (mentioned above), John Turk (mentioned below), and three others, who conveyed them to the College. (See Appendix A.)

— **John More (1368)**[2].

— **Merston** or **Marston (1347).**

— **Morpath** or **Morpeth (1346).**

* '**Robert Monkyton** or **Monkyston (1377).** Of kin to the Founder.'

— **Mount** or **Mound (1345).**

* '—**Mundye** [1370]. Of kin to the Founder. One William Mundy occurs as Rector of Warnford in Hampshire, 1391; query whether the same? I believe the same.'

John Mychel or **Michel (1360).**

[1] A 'Maundon' or 'Maldon' appears as Bursar in 1367–8.

[2] Bishop Hobhouse finds the name of 'Moore,' as Bursar, in the College accounts of 1376–7.

William Mydlesworth or **Middleworth (1365).** He was originally of Exeter College, and afterwards of Queen's College. Astry believes him to have been also a Fellow of Canterbury College founded by Islip, but to have been expelled from it as a 'secular.'

* 'Henry de Napton (1340). Vice-custos 1361.'

* 'Henry Norton (1346). Died 1365, and bequeathed 40*s.* to the College.' He was Bursar in 1354–5, and afterwards.

* '— Odrey or Audrey (1335).'

— **Orgon.** He is described in the Wilson Catalogue as a celebrated philosopher.

— **Oscote (1376).**

* **Richard de Pecham** or **Peckham (1330).**

Geffry Potton (1368). In 1375–6 he appears as collecting the harvest at Elham.

John Park (1370).

— **Pratt (1374)**[1].

William Rede or **Read, S.T.P. (1344)** He was elected Fellow of Merton from Exeter College[2], and became eminent as a historian and astronomer, in which capacity he obtained the credit, in conjunction with Ashendon, of having predicted the Black Death. In 1369 he became Archdeacon of Rochester, and in the same year Bishop of Chichester. While he occupied that see, he built the castle of Amberley. In 1376 he was one of the Commissioners appointed by the King to settle the dispute between the Chancellor of Oxford, with the Faculty of Arts and Theology, on the one side, and the Faculty of Canon and Civil Law on the other side. He built the Merton College Library, and contributed towards those of New College, Exeter, Balliol, Oriel, and Queen's. He died in 1385, leaving the College 100 books (besides those which he had given in his lifetime), £100 for the repair of the Library, and £100 more for the aid of Fellows, by way of loan.

[1] Bishop Hobhouse finds the name of Pyke, as Bursar, in the College accounts of 1374-5, but it does not occur in the Catalogues of this period.

[2] He was Bursar in 1352–3.

*'**William de Reynham** or **Renham** (1339). One of the first Fellows of Queen's College, 1340[1].'

*'**William Reynham** (1376). Occurs also 1379 and 1382. Different from him of 1339.'

*'**Nicholas de Redyng** or **Radyng** (1350). Proctor of the University 1355; Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East when New College began to be founded, 44 Edward III.'

Robert Rok (1356).

Robert Rugge or **Rygge, S.T.P.** (1365). He was elected from Exeter College, and was Bursar in 1374–5. He filled various ecclesiastical preferments in the West of England. In 1381–4 he was Chancellor of the University, and was often re-elected. In 1386 he was one of the Commissioners for settling the dispute at Oriel about the election of a Provost. As Chancellor, he was supposed rather to favour Wyclif, but was present in 1382 at his condemnation. Anthony Wood says that, being Chancellor in 1384, he effected the exoneration of Colleges from the payment of tenths, on which there had long been a dispute between the University and the City. He died, as Prebendary of Wells and Chancellor of Exeter, in 1410.

*'**Simon Ramsburye** (1376). Bursar 1382.'

*'**John de Swyneshead** (1346) (Com. Lyne). Gave thirty shillings and fourpence to the College by the hands of John de Middleton.'

John Reyneyd or **Rayner** (1365).

Walter Romysbury or **Rammesbury, S.T.P.** He was Proctor in 1364, and Bursar in 1365–6 and afterwards. He subsequently became Precentor of Hereford Cathedral. In 1394 he gave £10 for new desks in the east part of the Library, and ten marks for new stalls in the Chapel. He also gave the College many books. He died in 1406[2].

John Rysborowe or **Risburg** (1360). He was a donor of books.

[1] Renham occurs as Bursar in 1350–1.

[2] In the College accounts of 1399–1400 there is the following curious item: 'Jo. Rammesbury, pro medicinâ perquisit. ad Pestilent. in equitand. ad London in negotiis Dom. vi[d].'

Roger Swynshed or **Suicet.** He was a celebrated and subtle mathematician, whose connection with Merton Anthony Wood doubts, surmising that he may have been confounded with Richard Swynshead or Suicet mentioned in College records of 1339, and known to have taken part in Wylliott's election in 1349. Perhaps, however, two Christian names may have been erroneously assigned to the same person.

Richard Sutton (1352). He was Proctor in 1363, and appears as Bursar in 1364–5 and afterwards. William de Sutton is mentioned in College records of 1330, and 'William Sotton' appears as Bursar in 1338.

Thomas Standon (1354). He gave to the Library 'three several parts of Thomas Aquinas.'

*'**Henry Sars, Sarum,** or **Salisbury (1343).** Bachelor of Divinity.'

*'**Walter Staundon** or **Staunton (1372).** He had license from the College to recede to the Hospital at Basingstoke, 1386, and had £5 per annum allowed him for his sustenance there.'

*'**Thomas Shypton,** occurs not Senescallus, but moneys lent to him, 1365.'

Sydynham or **Sydenham (1357).**

William de Stekelyng or **Stikeling (1350).**

Henry de Stapylton (1366). He was a donor of books.

Robert Sampton (1368). He was afterwards of University College. In the accounts of 1376–7 there is an item '*pro vino in exequiis Sampton 16d.*'

Thomas Styne (1365). He was Bursar in 1371–2, and bequeathed several books to the College.

— **Stonore.**

— **Stukley** or **Stukeley (1344).**

— **Stafley** or **Staveley.** He is entered by Anthony Wood under Edward II (1326) as 'John de Staveley,' and is said to have been an 'entire friend' of the College, to which he left many books.

— **Stone (1371).**

— **Sorteys** or **Sorteis** (1357).

John Swyndon (1368). He was elected from Exeter College, and was Bursar in 1370–1.

— **Santon** or **Saunton** (1366).

Ralph Strood or **Strode** (1360). He is said to have travelled very widely, and to have written against Wyclif. But he is chiefly known as a poet, mentioned by name in Chaucer's Troilus. Astry hesitates to claim him as a Mertonian, but Anthony Wood follows the authority of the Old Catalogue, in which he is described as the author of 'Fantasma Radulphi.'

John Turke, S.T.P. (1353). He was Chancellor of the University in 1376, when he took part in settling the dispute between the Faculties of Theology, Arts, and Law. He was afterwards a Canon of Salisbury. He was a donor of books to the Library[1].

Richard de Tonworth, S.T.P. (1352). He was Proctor in 1358 and 1360, and Bursar in 1359-60 and afterwards. He was Principal of Hart Hall and Black Hall, having charge of the Wykehamist scholars, while New College was being erected, whence he is sometimes reckoned the first Warden of New College. He became Canon of Lichfield in 1374, and died in 1379.

John Tanke or **Tawke** (1366). He was of the Founder's kin.

Robert de Trenge, afterwards Warden. [See above.]

— **Tewkysbury** or **Tewkesbury** (1339).

— **Thakstyde** or **Thacksted** (1347).

Walter Tenet [? Thanet], (1330).

— **Undredoun** or **Underdown** (1344).

*' — **Wallsham** (1349). The same, I think, with Robert Walsingham.' [Robert Walsingham's name, however, does not occur either in Astry's or in Anthony Wood's Catalogue.]

[1] In the account of Sclatter, 'procurator' of the College in 1367–8, there is a strange entry of 9*d.* paid for a wall 'qui fuit fractus quum Magister Johannes Turk intravit Cathedram.' In the same year there is an entry for repairs 'ad Hospitium Turke.'

— **Wyliett.** This name must surely be a variation of Willyott, or Wylliot, below.

Richard Waweyn or **Wawayne (1344).** He supported Wylliott's election in 1349. He was Bursar in 1352-3 and afterwards.

John de Wyke (1352). Astry gives him the Christian name of 'Galfridus,' and says that he was an opponent of the 'Jurists,' or Faculty of Law, but Anthony Wood finds John de Wyke twice mentioned in Edward III's reign. 'Wyke appears as Bursar in 1367-8.'

Walter Wanasour—doubtless miswritten for **Vavasor**—**(1348)**, for 'Walter Vavassour' appears as Bursar in 1368-9.

Robert de Wotton. He is mentioned as one of Wylliott's adherents in 1349, but Anthony Wood finds *Stephen* de Wotton mentioned in 1368 and 1371.

Thomas de Wortyng (1334).

— **Westmyster** or **Westminster (1339).**

Thomas de Walkyngton (1337). He was afterwards Archdeacon of Cleveland. Kilner seems to doubt whether he may not have been the same with Alkyrton already noticed.

— **Westbrook (1353).**

John de Wicliffe or **Wyklif, S.T.P. (1356).** The following note is appended to his name in the Old Catalogue: '*Doctor in Theologiâ, qui cum nimium in proprio ingenio confidebat, ut primum erat Socius istius Domus unum annum probationis habuit plenarie in eâdem.*' This entry, part of which is apparently a reproduction of the original in modern ink, is thus read by Astry, but is cited by Leland in an opposite form—*nec* erat, &c.; *nec* annum probationis, &c. In the list of Merton Fellows elected during the reign of Edward III written on the back of an old Bursarial Indenture, and signed by Thomas Robert, Wyklyf's name occurs, with the addition 'a° xxx Edw. Re,' or 'Edw. Ter.,' being the only name in that list to which any date is attached. This may be taken as strong evidence that, in the opinion of Thomas Robert, who was a Fellow at least as early as 1395—thirteen years after the

Reformer Wyclif's death—this name was no other than his. According to Anthony Wood, he 'was educated from his first coming to the University in this College, and occurs this year (1356[1]), and not before or after—for he was never Master-Fellow, but left the College, because it was weary of him, being a man of turbulent spirit.' According to Astry, he was first a Commoner of Queen's, then Fellow of Merton, and then a member (if not Fellow) of Balliol, by which College he was presented in 1361 to the living of Fylingham in Lincolnshire. In the same year he appears to have negotiated with the Bishop of Lincoln as Master of Balliol, but in 1365 he was made by Archbishop Islip Head of Canterbury College, whence he was ejected in 1367 by Archbishop Langham on suspicion of heresy. His subsequent life belongs to ecclesiastical history. In 1374, he was presented by Edward III to the Rectory of Lutterworth, and was soon afterwards employed by him in a conference with Papal Nuncios at Bruges. It was after his return that he plunged into theological controversy at Oxford, which for some years was divided into two factions, comprising his supporters and his opponents. At last, Edward III having died, and the pressure from Rome becoming more and more urgent, his tenets were solemnly condemned in 1381 by the Chancellor of the University (Berton), with twelve Doctors as Assessors. But his followers continued to plead his cause boldly until he was expelled from the University in 1382, and retired to Lutterworth, where he died in 1384. Among his chief adherents at Merton Astry mentions Robert Rygge, William James, Thomas Bryghtwell, Walter Bryte, and Thomas Hulman. Both Edward III and Richard II showed him much favour, but his great protector was John Duke of Lancaster.

John Wendover, S.T.P. (1371). Though first mentioned in this year, he was already 'of great standing.' He was afterwards Warden. [See above.]

John Wylliott, S.T.P. (1334). He is chiefly known for his

[1] As Seneschal of the week.

'tumultuous election' to the Chancellorship of the University in 1349, and for his foundation of the Merton Postmasterships. The election was carried, according to Astry, by a 'faction of Masters,' chiefly Mertonians, who, being devoted to Wylliot, bound themselves to secede from Oxford in case he should be defeated, and carried their point by violence, not unattended with bloodshed. He was soon afterwards made Chancellor of the Diocese of Exeter. The Exhibitions called Postmasterships were founded by him about 1370 according to Astry, about 1380 according to Anthony Wood, who probably dates the foundation from the supposed year of his death, rather than from the earlier endowments assigned during his lifetime. Either by gift or by will he settled on the College estates in various parts of England[1], with other funds, to maintain a number of Exhibitioners, which, according to Wood, was to vary with the revenues thus allotted, but, according to Astry, was originally the same as that of the Master-Fellows. At all events, the number was afterwards fixed, and long remained fixed, at twelve, of which nine were in the gift of the nine Senior Fellows, and three in the gift of the Principal of the Postmasters. He also established their domicile in a lodging opposite the College, thence called Postmasters' Hall, from which they were transferred into the College at the end of Elizabeth's reign. They were originally called *Portionistæ*, but Astry preserves the corruption '*Post-ministri*,' and the word '*Post-magistri*' occurs in the College Register.

— **Uscher** or **Usher (1374).**

— **Wryght.**

— **Well** or **Wells.**

Robert de Wykford or **Wickford, LL.D.** and **S.T.P. (1344).** After holding a series of preferments in the north and west of England, he was admitted by Pope Urban V in person to a prebend of York in 1370. In 1375 he was made Archbishop of Dublin, and, in the following year, Chancellor of Ireland.

[1] Including the Fleur de Lys, at Carfax, and other tenements in Oxford.

Upon Richard II's accession in 1377 he was reappointed Chancellor, and died in 1390. According to Wood and the Catalogues, he left the College altar-cloths for the High Altar; according to Astry, the cloths were for the Hall.

John Wyne or **Vyne** (1344).

— **Wexcomb.** The name recurs after 'Wscote' in Astry's list.

— **Wscote.** Probably a misreading of **Oscote**, mentioned above (1376).

William Grysaunte, M.D. (1299). His name does not occur in the Old Catalogue, but is inserted, out of its alphabetical place, in the Savile Catalogue. Anthony Wood says that he must come in, under 1299, either as Fellow or Student. He became a noted physician, not without suspicion of magical arts, throughout France and Italy, but is chiefly known as the father of Grimoald Grysaunte, Abbot of Marseilles, who afterwards became Pope as Urban V, and in that capacity promoted William Rede, of Merton, to the Bishopric of Chichester.

Reign of Richard II.

* '**Richard Aldenham** or **Aldenam** (1398). The first time that he occurrs, being then Mr.' He was Bursar in 1400–1. He is mentioned in the Old Catalogue.

Henry de Abyndon, S.T.P. (1390). He became Warden in 1421. [See above.]

Andrew Asselyn (1399). He was Vicar of Northall, in Middlesex.

— **Andrew** or **Andrews** (1382).

Edmund de Bekyngham or **Bekynham, S.T.P.** He became Warden in 1398. [See above.]

— **Beel** or **Beele** (1399). He was of the Founder's kin.

— **Bartylmew.** Anthony Wood regards this as a Christian name, and enters Barthelmew Wode under the year 1395.

— **Brerley** or **Brereley.** He gave the College 40 shillings.

— **Benfiz** or **Beaufitz** (1395). He was Bursar in 1400–1, and voted at Abyndon's election in 1421.

Thomas Brown (1390). He was Third Bursar in 1404. He became Bishop of Rochester in 1435, and Bishop of Norwich in 1436. He died in 1445. Kilner hesitates to identify the Bishop with the 'Brown' of the Catalogues.

— **Barett** or **Barret** (1398).

John Banbury. This Christian name is given in the Savile and Wilson Catalogues, but Anthony Wood finds a Simon Banbury mentioned in College records of 1390.

John Bruggs or **Brugg** (1386).

Walter Bryte or **Brytte** (1377). He is described as an eminent philosopher, mathematician, and divine, who became a devoted adherent of Wyclif, and went so far as to advocate the disendowment of the clergy.

— **Cully** or **Colly** (1377).

William Clynt, S.T.P. (1377). He was Bursar in 1389–90. In 1408 he was one of the Proctors appointed by the Chapter of York to 'treat of the peace and union of the Roman Church.' In the same year he was Chancellor of the University. In 1414 he was one of the spokesmen for the University (with Henry de Abyndon) at the Council of Constance. After holding various preferments in the dioceses of York and Lincoln, he died in 1424, and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral.

John de Campden (1382). According to Anthony Wood he was Master of St. Cross, and one of his name was Canon of Southwell in 1382. In 1389 he was First Bursar.

Thomas Chylmark (1382); **John Chylmark** (1383). There appear to have been two Chylmarks, perhaps brothers, Fellows of Merton at the same time. One of them, whom Anthony Wood believed to have been John, became a noted philosopher and astronomer. He is said by Astry to have lectured '*in Scholis Oxoniæ in platea Scholarum positis*' about 1386, and he wrote a treatise '*de accidentibus Planetarum.*'

William Clement or **Clements** (1395). He was of the Founder's kin, Bursar in 1405–6, and Vicar of Cumnor.

Nicholas Colnet (1398). He was Bursar in 1404–5. In 1417 he was physician to King Henry V, accompanied him into

France, and, according to Anthony Wood, was present at the battle of Agincourt. He gave £10 'ad tabulam summi altaris.'

John Cook or **Coke.** He became Rector of Lapworth in 1422.

Henry Cleo (1395).

Thomas Cobham (1383).

— **Crowndale.** Anthony Wood places Thomas Crowndale or Crundall under the year 1377. He was of the Founder's kin, and it is recorded that, on his taking his M.A. degree, his charges were paid by the College. He was presented to the Vicarage of Dodington in 1396.

Thomas Circster, S.T.B. (1395). He was a Canon of Salisbury.

William Duffield or **Duffeld** (1398). He was Proctor in 1307. Though he was not ordained until 1419, he was rapidly promoted in the Church, and ultimately became Archdeacon of Cleveland and Canon of York. He died in 1453, leaving £10 for repairing the tower of 'St. John's Church in the College of Merton Hall,' two MSS. for the Library, and £2 16*s.* 8*d.* for a memorial service in the Chapel.

Henry Fytylton (1398).

John Forde. He is stated in the Savile Catalogue to have given £2 6*s.* 8*d.* for glazing the windows of the Chapel, but Anthony Wood ascribes this benefaction to Roger Ford (1395). He adds that he remembers to have seen a kneeling effigy of Ford in the painted window of the south transept, facing east, whereas Astry states that it is visible in the east window of the north transept. Other Fellows mentioned by Anthony Wood as donors of windows in the outer-chapel are Roger Gates, John Kemp, Robert Stoneham, Richard Stables, Vincent Wyking, Richard Baron, and John Mahew.

Robert Gylbert (1398). He became Warden in 1417, and attended Henry V on his expedition into France[1]. [See above.]

[1] Kilner cites the following note from the Kalendarium in the Library:—

A.D. MCCCCXVII—Erant tot personæ venerabiles istius Domûs de Merton in Normanniâ, cum Rege nostro illustrissimo Henrico Quinto.

John Gardener (1382). He became Vicar of Elham in 1392.

Roger Gates or **Gatys (1382).** He was Bursar in 1405 and afterwards, and Proctor in 1408. He became Chaplain to Henry V, whom he attended in Normandy, and to Henry VI, who made him a Prebendary of Windsor. He was the donor of a painted window on the east side of the south transept, in which there was a kneeling effigy of him, with his name inscribed over it. Anthony Wood speaks of this window from his own recollection, and Kilner adds that Gates was associated with Richard Baron as a 'supervisor of the building of the church, 1416–17.'

— **Gamylgay**, probably **Gamlingay.** According to a note in the Old Catalogue, he was expelled from the College.

John Herward (1382). He became Vicar of Wolford, by exchange, in 1403.

John Holme or **Holney (1395).**

Richard Hervie or **Hervy (1398).** He was Bursar in 1409–10.

William Heryngton (1390). He became Rector of Lapworth in 1411.

W. John or **Johns (1386).** Anthony Wood identifies him, by some unknown method, with 'William Jugg,' Archdeacon of Surrey.

— **Kegworth (1395).** Astry couples this name with the preceding, and reads it John Kegworth.

John Kemp, LL.D., S.T.P. (1395). This distinguished man, born of humble parents in Kent, rose to be Chaplain to

Mr. Gilbert, Custos ejusdem Domûs, Doctor in Theologiâ, et Decanus in Capellâ Regis.

Mr. Kempe, Doctor in jure, et Cancellarius Rev. Episcopi Roffensis.

Mr. Rodeburne, Capellanus Regis.

Mr. Ric. Eustace, Bac. in Theologiâ, et Capellanus Regis.

Mr. (Nic.) Colnet, Medicus Regius.

Mr. (Thos.) Walbere, B.A., repetitor in Capellâ Regis.

Post hoc misit Rex pro Magistro Rog. Gate, qui factus est Capellanus Regis.

Hi septem Socii Coll. Merton fuerunt in Comitatu Regis Henrici Quinti, dum is in Normanniâ esset.

Henry V in Normandy (1417), Bishop of Rochester (1419), Bishop of Chichester (1420), Bishop of London (1421), High Chancellor of England (1426), Archbishop of York (1426), Cardinal (1439), and Archbishop of Canterbury (1452). Meanwhile, he was employed on various important services, both ecclesiastical and civil. In 1423 he went to France, by order of the Privy Council, to aid the Duke of Bedford with his advice, and in the same year he was appointed by Parliament to be on the Council of the young King during his minority. In 1431 he accompanied the King in his entrance into Paris, in the following year he was sent on a legation to Pope Eugenius IV; in 1435 he attended the Council of Basle; and at the subsequent Council of Florence, which he also attended in 1439, he was made Cardinal of St. Balbin (afterwards changed to St. Ruffin) by Pope Eugenius IV. In the same year he took part in the negotiations for a treaty of peace at Calais. He afterwards founded a College at his own birthplace, Wye, in Kent, and selected Ewen, or Ewan, a Fellow of Merton, as its first Head. In 1449 he again became Chancellor of England, and retained the office until his death. Being an executor of Cardinal Beaufort, who left five hundred marks towards building the Divinity Schools, he gave one thousand marks of his own for the same purpose, to which his nephew Thomas, Bishop of London, added another thousand. These benefactions were specially commemorated by prayers for their souls until the Reformation. He was the donor of the west window in the south transept of the Chapel. He died in 1453.

Thomas Kemp, his nephew, was 'bred in the College,' according to Anthony Wood, 'but not in the condition of a Fellow.' Thomas was consecrated Bishop of London by his uncle in 1449. He gave the College £400, out of which two manors were purchased in Essex, and left it a gilt cross, weighing two hundred and twenty ounces. He died in 1489.

John de Kyllingworth or **Chillingworth (1383).** This Kyllingworth is identified in the Savile and Wilson Cata-

logues, but not in the Old Catalogue, with a famous astronomer, philosopher, and physician of that name said by Leland and Bale to have 'flourished' in 1360. But Anthony Wood surmises that John Kyllingworth, whose name he finds in no College record before 1383, cannot have been the same with one who had become celebrated twenty-three years earlier. Another John Kyllingworth occurs under Henry VI's reign, and Anthony Wood places another under 1339, as having studied in the College about that time.

— **Luton.** Anthony Wood and Astry conjecture that 'Luton,' said in the Old Catalogue to have been Vicar of Wolford, ought to have been entered as Roger Coton, who is mentioned in a College record of 1399, and is known to have been Vicar of Wolford in 1412.

Thomas Lute or **Loot (1398).**

Michael de Luca (1395).

Richard Letham or **Lytham (1382).** He was first expelled from the College 'for divers misdemeanours,' and afterwards (in 1386) from the University, by Dr. Rugg, then Chancellor, under the University seal. Among his misdeeds were disturbing the peace of the University and town, breaking the doors and windows of houses of doubtful reputation, bearing arms, and hindering the Chancellor in the execution of his office, &c.

Thomas Lucas (1391). He was Proctor in 1403, but was expelled from the College in some year after 1408.

John Lucke or **Loke, S.T.P. (1390).** He was Proctor in 1396. He was among twelve censors selected by the University to report on Wyclif's and other heretical writings, from which they extracted passages to be condemned by the clerical Synod of London. He was Canon of Salisbury, and held a prebend at Wells.

*'— **Middleton (1395).** This name hath not occurred several yeares before, no Middleton in Vet. Cat. (or Savile) *temp.* Ric. II.'

— **Monkystone.**

Thomas Martyne (1386). He was Proctor in 1405.

William Mothyrby or **Motherby (1398).** He was Bursar in 1399–1400. In 1401 he had a lease for twenty years of the manor and advowson of Cuxham.

Richard Maydston, S.T.P. (1399). He is not mentioned in the Old Catalogue or in the College accounts, but is entered in the Savile Catalogue. Anthony Wood, though he assigns him the date 1399, seems doubtful of his connexion with Merton. He was a dialectician of great reputation, a Carmelite monk, and confessor to John of Gaunt. He obtained great credit by his attacks on the doctrines of Wyclif. He died in 1396.

Robert Newman (1382). He gave the College a 'fair new Missal,' and £6 towards 'building the Church'—doubtless the outer chapel.

— **Northzevyll.**

— **Pedell** or **Pydell (1382).**

Thomas Pener or **Peny (1395).** He was Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East.

— **Persbrigg (1391).**

Richard Pestur. Anthony Wood finds his name in 1374. He was formerly a student of Exeter and University Colleges. He was Proctor in 1379. He was next of kin to Bishop Rede, who, according to Anthony Wood, 'left to him large legacies, besides 100 books, to be used by him during his life, and after his death to come to Merton College, as it seems.'

Thomas Rudborn or **Rodbourne, S.T.P. (1398).** He became Warden in 1416 (or 1417). [See above.]

Thomas Robert (1395). He was Bursar in 1410–11 and afterwards. In 1422 he was presented by the College to the 'Presidency of the Free Chapel of Kibworth.' 'This Thomas Robert,' says Anthony Wood, 'was collector (if I mistake not) of the first and old Catalogue of Fellows; for the original of it, drawn alphabetically in rolls of parchment, is subscribed by *Tho. Robert.*' This 'original' is still in the possession of the College, and it is in the roll containing

the Fellows of Edward III's reign that Wyclif's name occurs, with the addition '*Anno xxx. Edwardi Regis.*' He died in 1446.

Peter Radle or **Radley** (1390). He was Bursar in 1400–1, and his account contains an unusual number of suggestive items. One of these is, '*In domo Bannebery, quod laboravit ad vid. et consulendum utrum murus inter Aristotel Hall et Gardinum nostrum sit noster vel non.*'

Robert Stoneham, S.T.P. (1386). He gave the College a large silver gilt cross for the choir and many books. Astry speaks of him as having joined with Richard Baron to put in the window next the street on the east side of the north transept. Kilner, however, adopts Anthony Wood's suggestion that Richard Stables, a brother Fellow, was denoted by the initials 'R. S.,' which Anthony Wood saw coupled with the name of Richard Baron in the inscription below the window. He died in 1409.

— **Spycer** (1390).

Richard Stable or **Stables** (1386). He gave the Choir a 'fair Antiphonary.'

John Sayer (1391). He was Sub-Warden in 1401, and resigned his fellowship in 1402.

— **Stonehard** or **Stoneheard** (1399).

— **Terry**.

— **Vicent**, or **Vincent, de Wyking** (1390). He was Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, being presented under the title of '*Capellanus consocius domûs Scholarium de Merton.*' According to Anthony Wood, while he was Vicar of St. Peter's, the College pulled down some houses in his parish, with a view to enlarge their limits, 'especially their garden and the place where the bowling green is now,' without giving him any compensation for the 'oblations' thus lost to the Vicarage; whereupon he appealed to the Court of Rome, and obtained from the Pope, then at the Council of Constance, an order against the College for the payment of these dues. Astry, following the statement in Anthony Wood's History, mentions

him as the donor of the west stained-glass window in the north transept of the Chapel, but Wood, in his English Catalogue, speaks only of his setting up a window in the north aisle of St. Peter's-in-the-East.

— **Wadynton (1399).**

— **Walpoole** or **Walpoll (1398).**

* '**William Ward (1398).** He was Vicar of Embleton, and died about 1431.' (See Thomas Eland, 1419.)

— **Wyard (1395).** He was of the Founder's kin, and, being afflicted with some disease, was permitted by the College to retire to 'the College-hospital at Basingstoke,' with an annual allowance of six and a-half marks.

— **Wotton (1387).** Anthony Wood finds a Stephen Wotton mentioned in 1368, whom he supposes to be a different person.

— **Welpy (1399)**—perhaps an abbreviation of Walpinton.

Robert Wymildon or **Wymelton** (probably Wimbledon), **(1386).** All the Catalogues speak of him as the most famous preacher of his time, but there is considerable doubt about his Christian name.

Thomas Whitinton or **Whytyngdon (1395).** He resigned, under threat of expulsion, in 1403, binding himself not to molest the College thereafter[1].

John Woghope or **Worope (1399).** The name is written in many various ways, including 'Woope.'

William Warde (1398). He was Bursar in 1408–9, and Vicar of Embleton.

John Ashton or **Aston.** This name, omitted in the Old Catalogue, is here inserted in the Savile Catalogue, and Anthony Wood finds it mentioned in a College record of 1371. John Ashton was a learned and earnest supporter of Wyclif, and was condemned for heresy in a Convention held in London before the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1382.

[1] A similar form of resignation is recorded in the case of Richard Pedyngton, compelled to resign in the reign of Henry IV (see below). At a chapter meeting held at Holywell in the reign of Henry VI, a form of oath for Bachelor Fellows was sanctioned, whereby the Fellow expressly bound himself, in case of expulsion, not to avail himself of any action, appeal, or legal process against the College.

The accounts of his subsequent fate are conflicting, since, according to one, he was soon afterwards sentenced to perpetual imprisonment at St. Alban's, while, according to another, he ultimately confessed his errors, and was restored to the University, whence he had been expelled.

Reign of Henry IV.

* '— **Barthon.**'

Robert Brygham or **Brigham (1404).** He was Bursar in 1411–2.

Richard Baron (1405). He was Proctor in 1409 and Bursar in 1411–2. He gave the College two silver candlesticks, and was joint-donor with Robert Stoneham (or Richard Stables) of the first eastern window in the north transept of the Chapel.

John Burbach or **Burbage, S.T.P. (1410).** He was Commissary of the University, as 'theologus senior,' at various times between 1433 and 1439[1]. He was a strenuous opponent of Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester. He gave some MSS. to the Library, and repaired or re-bound others.

— **Bonham (1410).**

Ralph Clark (1410).

Thomas Duncan (1404). He was physician to the Earl of March, father of Edward IV. He gave the College a gilt bowl, or platter, and certain books.

Walter Dubbar (1408).

Richard Eustace (1404). He was Bursar in 1408–9. He was Chaplain to Henry V in Normandy, and afterwards to Henry VI. He gave the College £10 'ad novam tabulam summi altaris,' and £10 for the Library.

Thomas Ewstone (1404). The following note is appended to his name in the Old Catalogue: '*tradidit libros Collegii cuidam Christophero Knowl ad terminum vitæ dicti Christopheri, qui est de Coll. Lincoln.*' A similar note occurs in Anthony Wood's copy of the Savile Catalogue.

[1] On January 28, 1435, acting in this capacity, he held an enquiry into a case of scandal in 'Martone College Church.' Anstey's 'Munimenta Academica,' vol. ii. p. 509.

John Elys or **Ellis, M.D.** (1410).

— **Eland** (1410). He was Bursar in 1419–20.

William Felter, Doctor of Canon Law (1406). After holding many ecclesiastical preferments, he became Dean of York, and died in 1451, leaving £40 (or forty shillings) to the College. His name was submitted to the Visitor, for the Wardenship, with that of Henry de Abendon.

— **Helyar** (1410).

Hugh Herle or **Herley** (1410). He gave the College forty shillings.

*'— **James** (1410). Whether the same with him under (Ed. III), the year 1376, I know not.'

Walter Lugardyn (1398). He was of the Founder's kin, was Bursar in 1410–1, and Proctor in 1406.

John Mahue or **Mahew** (1404). He gave the College forty shillings, wherewith he set up painted glass in the east window next the tower in the north transept of the Chapel. This window, like others in the outer Chapel, is carefully described by Astry.

*'— **Marshall** (1406). [John Marshall, LL.B.; v. notes from Wells Registers, 1433.]'

John Odyham (1404). He was of the Founder's kin.

William Prestwolde (1404). He was Bursar in 1419–20.

Richard Pedynton (1404). He was of the Founder's kin, and grammar-master of the College. He afterwards resigned his Fellowship (doubtless under compulsion), before the Warden, Sub-Warden, and other Fellows, in the College Hall.

Nicholas Punt, or **Pont**, or **Pontius** (1406). He was noted for his successful encounter in the Schools with Richard Flemming, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln and Founder of Lincoln College, in which Pont vehemently impugned the doctrines of Wyclif.

Thomas Walbere or **Walber** (1404). He was chaplain to Henry V in Normandy, and to Henry VI. He afterwards held several minor ecclesiastical preferments.

Henry Wodchirche or **Woodchurch (1410).** He was Bursar in 1416–7. He gave the College eight marks 'for a jewel.' He died in 1432.

John Woodward, S.T.B. (1410).

Reign of Henry V[1].

1412 or **1413** (5 elected).

John Heyworth.

William Saunders, S.T.B. He was presented by the College, in 1422, to the Vicarage of Wolford, but did not enjoy it.

Richard Redewe, S.T.B. He gave books for the Library.

Richard Barnett. He was Senior Fellow in 1421, when his name was submitted to the Visitor, with that of Henry Abendon, for the Wardenship. He became Clerk of the Records to the City of London, married, and died in 1486, when he must have been about ninety. He left many books for the Library. The Wilson Catalogue speaks of him as 'nobilis.'

John Gamylgay (Gamlingay).

1414 or **1415** (8 elected).

Richard Chester, S.T.P. After holding other ecclesiastical preferments, he became Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1448.

William Sprever or **Spever, D.C.L.** His name is found in the accounts of the year 7 Henry VI, and he seems to have died Archdeacon of Bath, after holding other preferments, in 1459[2].

Elias Holcote, S.T.B. He became Warden in 1437–8. [See above.]

Giles Goldyngton.

Thomas Juster. He was Proctor in 1420.

[1] Henceforth the names are entered, not alphabetically, but in the supposed order of election, though it is not until 1436 that Anthony Wood regards this order as established.

[2] Finding this name written as 'Sever' in one MS. of Anthony Wood, Kilner discusses the question whether a William Sever, who became Bishop of Carlisle in 1495, and of Durham in 1502, had any connexion with Merton, and concludes that he may have been a student, but was never a Fellow.

John Arnold, S.T.B.

John Peterton, S.T.P. He was Vicar of Cheddar in 1441, and Prebendary of Wells.

John Multon. He died about 1431.

1417 (6 elected).

Robert Holywell. He was Rector of Cuxham, presented by the College in 1424.

John Somerford.

John Schibton or Skipton.

Thomas Wytham.

Robert Woller.

Hamond Haydock, S.T.B. He died at Sevenoaks in 1470, and Astry preserves an epitaph on him written in very incorrect Latin heroics.

1419 (?9 elected).

Robert Dobbes, Doctor of Canon Law. After holding several ecclesiastical preferments, he became Dean of the Arches Court in 1452, and died in 1459.

John Littleton.

Thomas Eland. He became Vicar of Embleton about 1431, and Anthony Wood records that his predecessor William Ward left him 'many goods besides oxen and horses,' and money for repairs.

Robert Wyght. He seems to have died about 1468, having given the College several books for the Library, and 'duas bonas capas de blodio.'

Henry Sever, S.T.P. He became Warden in 1455–6. [See above.]

John Wygrym. He was Proctor in 1428. After holding other ecclesiastical preferments, he became Prebendary of Windsor in 1458. He gave the College a 'processionarium' for the Chapel.

John Snetisham, S.T.P. He became Canon and Chancellor of Exeter Cathedral, and has been confounded in the Savile and Wilson Catalogues with another John Snetsham, Chan-

cellor of the University in Henry IV's reign. An item in the accounts for the Bell Tower shows that he left money to the College, probably for this purpose.

John Chastlet.

John Swalwe or **Swalen** [1].

Reign of Henry VI.

1422 or **1423** (? 6 elected).

John Chedworth, S.T.P. He is said by Astry to have been first of University College, and by Anthony Wood to have been Fellow of University in 1435. In 1443 he was Fellow of King's College Cambridge, then just founded, and in 1446 he was made Provost of King's College. In 1452, after holding many other ecclesiastical preferments, he became Bishop of Lincoln. In 1458, a dispute between the University and City of Oxford was referred to him, but, on a protest from the University, which dreaded a revival of the Bishop of Lincoln's old jurisdiction, another arbiter was substituted. He died in 1471 [2].

John Belle or **Bell.**

Simon Roe. In 1431, being still Fellow of Merton, he was Principal of Nevyll's Inn, pulled down when Corpus Christi College was built.

William Dowson or **Dawson, S.T.P.** He is mentioned as Fellow of University College in 1432, and as Commissary of the University in 1443.

Ralph Perott or **Paret.** He was Rector of Lapworth in 1433.

Thomas Estynton. He was Prebendary of Lincoln in 1454.

1425 or **1426** (? 7 elected).

John Mayneford or **Manysforth.**

[1] It does not appear clear whether the nine above-named Fellows, beginning with Dobbes, were elected together in 1419. Anthony Wood's English Catalogue throws no light on the first two.

[2] In the same year died an Archdeacon of Lincoln bearing the same name, whom Astry states to be mentioned in the College records, and for whom he evidently surmises that Bishop Chedworth may have been mistaken.

John Nyman.

William Basset.

Thomas Oldbury, S.T.B. Astry doubts whether he was the same with one of the same name who held the living of Ewelme in 1454.

Richard Feryndon. He was Principal of St. John's Hall, and afterwards Prebendary of St. Paul's. He died in 1488.

William Lynham.

Nicholas Messyngham.

1431 (4 elected).

John Lane. He was First Bursar in 1434, and Principal of Coleshill Hall in 1435.

John Hanham. He died in 1484, bequeathing three MSS. to the College.

Roger Martyn. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1437, and Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1447. He died in 1461.

Thomas Aleyn. He was Principal of Aristotle Hall, and Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East.

1432 (4 elected).

Richard Ewen. He was first Provost of the College founded by Archbishop Kemp at Wye in Kent, and, after holding other preferments, became Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1459. He died in 1463–4.

Richard Colyns or **Collyns.** He was Rector of Cuxham.

John de Kyllingworth, called the Younger. He was Proctor in 1441, died in 1445, and was buried in the outer Chapel, where his monument remains in the south transept. He is described in all the Catalogues, and by Anthony Wood, as a famous astronomer, but it is not easy to determine how much of this astronomical reputation properly belongs to him, and how much either to his earlier namesake, probably not of Merton, in the reign of Edward III, or to his later namesake, certainly of Merton, in the reign of Richard II. Astry appropriates to him, what is said in the Wilson Catalogue of his Merton pre-

decessor, that he was followed in his astronomical researches by his brother-Fellows, Hart, Stacy, Courteys, and Blake. The first three of these names occur among the Fellows in the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV, while Blake was a Chaplain of the College, who died at Stamford.

— **Whyte.**

1436 (10 elected).

John Blakman or **Blackman.** He is stated in the Catalogues to have been afterwards a Carthusian monk, and Anthony Wood supposes him to have been the same John Blackman who appears as a Fellow of Eton.

Thomas Bartelett or **Bartlet.** He was Principal of Corner Hall, and afterwards lived in the Holywell Manor House, being 'chief tenant or farmer' there. He died before 1490.

Thomas Pash or **Paysche.** He was Almoner to Edward IV, Prebendary of St. George's, Windsor, and a great pluralist. His name was among the three submitted to the Visitor, when Fitzjames was nominated Warden, in 1482. He gave the College a silver cup, and several books for the Library.

— **Mydford** or **Medford.**

John Byllesdon, M.D. He was Principal of Coleshill (or Colsall) Hall, and a noted physician.

Richard Nubrigg or **Newbrygge.** He was one of the three whose names were submitted to the Visitor, when Fitzjames was made Warden in 1482. He left the College money to finish the new stalls in the Choir, and a large silver-gilt cup, which is specifically mentioned in the inventory taken on the accession of Warden Chamber.

— **West.**

— **Rickman.** He is stated by Anthony Wood to have resigned, to avoid expulsion, under the same engagement as Whytyngdon, already mentioned.

— **Wyth.**

— **Kyppyng.** He is marked as 'doubtful' by Astry.

1437 or 1438 (9 elected).

— **Arveys.** He was Doctor of the Canon Law, and Principal of Nevyll's Inn.

Thomas Gauge, S.T.P. He was Principal of St. John Baptist's Hall, second Provost of Archbishop Kemp's College at Wye, and ultimately Prebendary of St. Paul's. He died at Wrotham in 1470[1].

William Fraunceys or **Fraunces.** He was Proctor in 1443.

William Emyldon. He succeeded Arveys as Principal of Nevyll's Inn.

John Gygur or **Gygour, S.T.B.** He became Warden in 1471. [See above.]

— **Sutton.** A John Sutton was Fellow of Eton College not long after this.

Thomas Perys or **Parys,** Doctor of Canon Law. He was Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, and vacated that living by death in 1499. Astry marks him as 'doubtful.'

— **Westbane** or **Westborne.**

Walter Hart. Following the steps of Kyllingworth, he became a noted astronomer. Like Gygur, he was among the first twenty Fellows of All Souls, nominated by Chicheley, the Founder. On his death in 1484, his brother gave the College two medical treatises by Simon Bredon, which had belonged to him.

1442 (7 elected).

Nicholas Zardele or **Yardley.** He was of the Founder's kin.

Richard Kinge or **Kyng.**

— **Clopton.** He was Principal of Nun Hall in 1445.

John Curteys or **Curteis, M.D.** He was a noted physician and astronomer.

John Woode, S.T.B. He was Proctor in 1449, Principal of St. John Baptist Hall in 1451, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. He died in 1475.

[1] Anthony Wood mentions Thomas Gawge, Fraunces, Gygur, and Hart as elected in 1436.

Richard Langstone. In 1451 he was Principal of Nevyll's Inn.

Roger Combe.

1446 (7 or 8 elected).

Thomas Balsall or **Balshall, S.T.P.** He is described as a true friend and benefactor of the College, giving, among other donations, £5 towards a new pulpit for the Chapel. He was Proctor in 1451, and died as Warden or Dean of the Collegiate Church of Stratford-on-Avon in 1491. His name is subscribed to a copy of the Statutes which he gave, as Sub-Warden, in 1455.

Thomas Roberd. He died in 1477.

Thomas Bloxham, M.D. Anthony Wood states that he attained great eminence in the practice of medicine, and in the inventory of a deceased scholar's debts, preserved in Anstey's Mun. Acad. vol. ii. p. 664, we find an item—'*Magistro Bloxham, pro laboribus et medicinis suis, ut dicit—xx*^{li}.' He was also in Holy Orders, and held more than one living. He gave the College several jewels and books. He died in 1473.

Richard Woodwere.

John Marshall. Though omitted in Astry's Catalogue, his name appears in the Old, Savile, and Wilson Catalogues, as well as in that of Anthony Wood. He was Principal of Coleshill Hall in 1447, and Proctor in 1455. He was also Fellow of Eton, Canon of Windsor, and ultimately Bishop of Llandaff, where he was buried in 1496. Anthony Wood gives an interesting account of his donations to the College, including £20 given in his lifetime for the painting of the stalls in the Chapel, and £20 left by will for the boarding of the Choir. The figures elaborately depicted at the back of the stalls were daubed over at the Reformation, and under the Commonwealth, but reappeared until they were finally erased, and at last replaced by new stalls, in Anthony Wood's own time. One, representing Bishop Marshall himself, was next the vestry-door, and was preserved for some years in the Library.

Richard Scarbrugh, S.T.P. He was Proctor in 1455, and

died Bishop of Llandaff in 1495, leaving the College £20, besides £8 for the Library, and a gold cup for the Warden and his successors.

John Werkworth. He was Principal of Nevyll's Inn in 1453, and afterwards Master of Peterhouse at Cambridge, to which College, as well as to Merton, he gave books.

John Yonge. He was Proctor in 1453.

1447 (4 elected).

Robert Langhirst.

John Frawnces. In 1452 he was Principal of Hert Hall, 'included within the limits of St. Alban Hall.'

Nicholas Sabyn.

William Brown.

1448 (6 elected).

John Bradway or **Broadway.**

William Rumsey. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1452, and afterwards made various donations to the College, including 5*s.* 8*d.* 'to the painting of the tabernacle of St. John Baptist in the Choire[1].'

William Brygham. He was probably the same as the 'William Bryghman' appointed in 1452 to act on a case of appeal from the Chancellor.

John Wymark. He was Principal of Coleshill Hall in 1457.

Robert Fermour. He was Principal of Nun Hall in 1452. It is stated in Boase's University Register, p. 1, that in 1448 he supplicated for permission to read two books, *De Animâ*, instead of the Georgics assigned him by the *magistri determinatorum.* He served on the same appeal as William Brygham (or Bryghman).

Robert Faversam.

1455 (6 elected).

Nicholas Wryth. He was of the Founder's kin, and was

[1] About this time many Fellows are mentioned as having made donations to the College, especially for the Chapel, thereby entitling themselves to funeral services on their death.

Principal of Nevyll's Inn in 1461. In 1487 he gave forty shillings towards the new pulpit, to which Balsall also contributed, as well as a crucifix. He died in 1499.

Robert Buckmott, S.T.P. He gave money for the use of the Chapel and of the Library in 1487. He is entered in Boase's Register as Bukemot or Bukmet.

George Hardgyll. He was Chaplain to Edward IV. In 1459 he was deputed to be guardian of the 'Cicester chest,' and was Principal of Coleshill Hall. He seems to have died in 1500, when his exequies were celebrated in the Chapel.

Henry Bryan. He was successively Principal of Urban Hall 'within the limits of Corpus Christi College, and Bull Hall in Penyfarthing (or Pembroke) Street, both of which belonged to Merton.' He 'afterwards took a wife, whom burying, he became a priest.'

John Grace[1].

Thomas Danett, S.T.P. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1468, and afterwards held a great variety of Church-preferments, becoming almoner to Edward IV in 1475, and Dean of Windsor in 1481. He was buried there in 1483.

1458 (10 elected).

Henry Sutton, M.D. He was an astronomer and physician, but held various Church preferments, and died as Treasurer of Salisbury in 1505. By an Indenture of July 12, 1466, he was made joint supervisor with John Arnold (mentioned below) of the Chapel tower, then being erected.

Thomas Storr. He was Principal of St. John's Hall.

John Paynton. He was Proctor in 1464, and Principal of Bull Hall.

John Adnett.

Walter Stowyns or **Stevyns.** He was Principal of St. John's Hall in 1461.

John Arnold. He was supervisor of the tower in 1466 with

[1] Kilner here notes: 'A. Wood's Catalogue, as yet found, ends with John Grace, Thomas Danet, the last of this election, not being included.'

Henry Sutton [see above], having been Principal of Christopher Hall in 1462.

John Norris.

John Proctor.

Robert Peerte. He died in 1459.

John Mertocke or **Martock.** He died in 1503, having given the College a house in St. Martin's parish. There is a notice of the funeral services performed for him in the Old Register, fol. 143 *b*, and fol. 148 *a*.

Reign of Edward IV.

1462 (5 elected).

Thomas Lee. He was of the Founder's kin, Rector of Cuxham, and afterwards Vicar of Wolford. He gave the College £30, besides other valuables worth £10. He was buried in the north transept, and his 'effigies' was placed in the Hall.

Edward Gyles.

John Stacy. He was a noted astronomer, being associated in these studies with Blake, a chaplain of Merton. According to Leland, he was afterwards accused of treason, and hanged at Tyburn.

T. Sutton.

T. Fuller.

1465 (5 elected).

Richard Vincent.

Richard Davys, S.T.B.

Walter Horn.

W. Hervy.

Richard Fitzjames, S.T.P. He became Warden in 1482–3. [See above.]

1467 (5 elected).

— Knapp.

John Atkins. He became noted for his skill in music.

Thomas Lynley, S.T.P. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall. It is recorded by Anthony Wood that, in 1487, when

he 'proceeded' in Divinity, and Mr. Walter Knightley in Medicine, 'they feasted the Chancellor and several other noble persons, to the honour of the College.' He gave £40 towards the 'ceiling' of the Choir, and a silver-gilt tablet, with a crucifix thereon.

John Forster. He was Prebendary of St. Paul's.

Maurice Barthrame. He was Principal of the Postmasters in 1474, and Proctor in 1475.

1470 (5 elected).

Robert Morton. He was Prebendary of Lincoln.

Alexander Harding.

Thomas Parmenter. He was Proctor in 1477, and gave the College a gilt chalice.

John Wyppyll or **Whiphill.** He was a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and, in conjunction with Thomas Dollyng, gave the College a beautiful gilt cup with cover, besides other donations.

Robert Gosborne. He was Proctor in 1479, and tutor to the Duke of York, son of Edward IV. He gave the College twenty shillings 'ad nova Organa.'

1473 (8 elected).

Thomas Aleyn.

Simon Mollond, S.T.B. He was elected 'Rex fabarum' in 1488, and Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East in 1499. In 1513 he supplicated for his Doctor's degree, but was not admitted to it. He died in 1520 and was buried in the north transept, having 'given £20 in gold among the Fellows, to have his anniversary performed for twenty years after his death.'

William Neele. In 1487 he was elected 'Rex fabarum,' and in 1508 his name was presented for the Wardenship with that of Rawlins. He died in 1509, and was buried in the choir. One or more of the southern windows of the Hall were set up out of funds given by him.

Elias Bell. He died in 1513.

George Weldisch. He was elected 'Rex fabarum' in

1490, and in 1491 contributed five shillings towards painting the new pulpit.

Simon Molens, S.T.P. He was Sub-Dean of Chichester, and died in 1505–6.

William Baldry. He was First Bursar in 1478.

Walter Aston.

1476 (9 elected).

Thomas Woodward. He gave the College money and books.

Ralph Hamsterley. He was Proctor in 1481, Principal of St. Alban Hall, and Master of University College in 1509, being the first stranger who held that office. He was a great benefactor to University College, and also founded an Exhibition for a Chaplain in Merton College, which bore his own name, and was supported out of lands purchased by him at Hensington. He was buried, with a monument, in the Chapel.

Thomas Harpur or **Harper, S.T.P.** He became Warden in 1507. [See above.]

Walter Clerk. He was buried in the Chapel, with a monumental inscription.

Robert Pester. He was among the contributors towards painting the new pulpit.

William Twynnyng.

J. Stanenson.

John Molder. He was appointed Vicar of Wolford in 1502, and was a benefactor of the College.

John Cokkys or **Coxe.** He was one of those presented with Harpur for the Wardenship in 1507.

1478 (3 elected).

Robert Ardern. He was Proctor in 1486, and Rector of Lapworth in 1488. He died in 1509.

Thomas Androwe or **Andrewe.**

John Person, S.T.B. He was 'Rex fabarum' in 1485, and a benefactor of the College. He died in 1500, and was buried in the Chapel.

1480 (7 elected).

Thomas Kent. He was a celebrated astronomer, and published certain predictions regarding the hard winter and famine prices of 1490, which the event justified. He died, however, in 1489, of the plague, which then raged at Oxford, and specially in Merton.

John Sparke. He contributed, with Person and others, towards painting the pulpit.

John Esyngton.

Robert Burton. He was Proctor in 1489, and also senior Regent, when an 'ignis Regentium' was celebrated—an event often noticed about this period. He was afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham. He was probably the same as Robert Burton, a Minorite, who is stated in Boase's University Register (p. 58) to have supplicated for his D.D. degree in 1507–8, 'after studying twenty years at Oxford and Cambridge.'

William Goode. He became Vicar of Ponteland in 1491, and died in 1497.

John Trowell. He was Sub-Warden in 1490 or 1491. He afterwards became a monk. Astry appends to his name the following note: 'Hic et alius ex magistris peregrinationem meditabantur An. 1490, verentes S. Jacobum,' referring to the Old Register, fol. 94–5.

Richard Rawlins, S.T.P. He became Warden in 1508. [See above.]

1482 (3 elected).

William Mylle. He died of the plague on January 14, 1487–8.

John Byrde. He was 'promoted' to be 'Rex fabarum' in 1486, and contributed towards painting the new pulpit in 1490. He died, Rector of Acton, in 1542.

Edward Barnarde, S.T.B. He was of the Founder's kin.

Reign of Richard III.

1484 (7 elected).

John Davy or **Davys.** He was Proctor in 1492, and afterwards Prebendary of St. Paul's. He contributed towards 'ceiling' the Chapel, and gave two silver vessels to the University.

John Hanchich. He is doubtless the same as the 'Mr. Hanwick' on whom a censure was pronounced by the Warden and Senior Fellows in 1484, for 'certain transgressions.'

Thomas Kyng or **Kinge.** He was elected 'King' in 1499.

Thomas Beaumont. He was a man of great learning, and filled various ecclesiastical posts in the diocese of Bath and Wells, including the 'Provostship' and Archdeaconry of Wells, in which last office he was succeeded on his death, in 1507, by Polydore Vergil. In 1495 he was elected 'in regem nostri regni fabarum.'

Robert Dale. He was Proctor in 1494, and chosen 'Rex' in the same year. In 1495 he was Principal of the Postmasters, and in 1497 he became Fellow of Eton.

Richard Tyle. He left the College, in his year of probation, on account of disorderly conduct, 'all the Fellows' having pronounced him to be 'unworthy of our house' (1485).

Robert Claxton. He was chosen 'Rex' in 1496.

Reign of Henry VII.

1487 (6 elected).

Richard Lockwoode. He died in 1489.

Hugh Saunders, alias **Shakespere, S.T.P.** According to the Register, 'Shakispere,' with Ireland and Holt, were elected 'scholares' on April 8, 1486, though not admitted 'in communias' till July 23, 1487, or 'ad annum probationis' until August 1, 1487. The entry on July 23 contains the following passage: '*Hugo Sawndare, alias dictus Shakspere, sed mutatum est istud nomen ejus, quod vile reputatum est.*' He was chosen 'Rex' in 1501, and in the same year became Principal

of St. Alban Hall, and Commissary of the University. He was afterwards rapidly promoted by the influence of Bishop Fitzjames, whose executor he was, and died, in 1537, Prebendary of St. Paul's, as well as incumbent of two livings. In the inventory of College plate, taken on the accession of Warden Chamber, in 1525, there is specific mention of 'a standyng sylver pece double gylt,' with 'a cover havyng an image of Our Lady with her sonne in her armes, of the gift of Doctor Sawnders.'

William Sheffylde. He was of the Founder's kin, and was buried under the Chapel tower, but the evidence as to the date of his death is conflicting.

William Ireland. He was Rector of Cuxham. In 1494 he was formally admonished for having 'excited an altercation.'

Richard Holt. He is stigmatised as 'vir maritatus' or 'uxoratus.' He was also 'accused for playing at tennis.'

William Moore. He was buried on the south side of the Chapel.

1490 (6 elected).

John Walgrave, S.T.B. He was chosen 'Rex,' apparently in 1497, and was Vicar of Ponteland. Astry says that he was admitted 'magister' in 1514, but resigned that office in 1519.

Richard Edmunde. He contributed towards ceiling the 'nave' of the Chapel, but was expelled for gross misconduct, by the Warden 'and six Seniors' in 1492.

Richard Adams. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall, and is recorded to have given £5, through Dr. Saunders, into the common fund of the College.

William Gyddyng. He was 'presented to the custody of the Free Chapel of Kibworth Harcourt.' He died in 1512.

John Goodhew, S.T.B. In 1498, he was elected 'Chaplain of the University.' In 1500, he was chosen 'Rex, quia promotus ad magistrum contubernii de Wigh (Wye) in Cantia.'

John Adams, S.T.P. He was Commissary of the University

in 1503[1]. It is stated in the Register that in 1503, being 'Vice-Custos Senior,' 'nihine novæ consecrationis in regem electus est.' In the same year he became Rector of Gamlingay. In 1517, he subscribed towards ceiling the 'nave' of the Chapel. He died in 1523, being then Prebendary of St. Paul's and left the College a silver cup surmounted by an eagle.

1492 [illegible] elected.

Nicholas Consaunt. Kilner appends this note to his name: 'Chose King. when Sub-Warden. but on condition of resigning[2].'

Nicholas Bradbridge, S.T.P. After holding various preferments, he died Chancellor of Lincoln in 1532, and was buried in the Cathedral, where there is an epitaph to him. Like some others, he is recorded to have 'supplicated' for the degree of D.D. at Oxford without obtaining it, but afterwards obtained it at a foreign University, and was incorporated at Oxford.

William Greveson. He died in 1509.

John Chambyr or **Chamber.** He became Warden in 1525. [See above.]

Robert Hill. He was Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, and died in 1524. He and Augustin Flower, elected in the same year, incurred severe censure in 1503. There is a curious note in the Register, dated March 17, 1514–5, showing that he was then admitted 'ad cautiones,' having long been excluded by order of the Warden, because he would not come to church, or, when he came, refused to sit in the place assigned to him by the Warden.

Thomas Scarisbreck, S.T.P. It is recorded in the Register

[1] Kilner adds the following note, extracted from the Register: '1501, 6 Feb., predicavit Jo. Adams vice-custos in Latinis in ecclesiâ B. Mariæ propter formam, et quis erat collector sermonum in Theologiâ, subivit labores, ne dies vacaret.'

[2] A 'Consaunt, M.A.' is stated in Boase's University Register to have supplicated for his B.D. degree in 1507, 'as having studied 14 years in logic, philosophy, and theology.'

that when he was Senior Master, an 'ignis regentium' was held, 'cum jucundissimis interludis.'

Augustin Flower. He died in 1509.

Christopher Tremayle or **Tremayne.** He is stated to have been elected 'ob nobilitatem sanguinis et personæ,' though not otherwise eligible.

John Forster or **Foster.** He was Chaplain of the University, and Principal of St. Alban Hall. In 1506, Foster, with Johnson and Boyce (? 'Bysse'), were threatened with expulsion, and deprived of their commons 'until such time as the Warden and Seniors shall otherwise determine.'

1494 (3 elected).

John Cole. He resigned his Fellowship, as a Bachelor.

John Mackson or **Marstone** or **Matson.** In 1502 he was Southern Proctor. In 1503, being Senior Regens, he sumptuously entertained all the Masters and Bachelors with an 'ignis regentium,' according to ancient custom. He is probably the same as 'John Macstone,' who died of plague in 1507, and was buried in the Chapel or Churchyard.

Robert Storford or **Stowford.** He died in 1507.

1497 (5 elected).

John Waytt. He gave an entertainment as 'Senior Regens' in 1506. In the same year he became Chaplain and Librarian of the University,

John Lane. He died in 1515.

John Beverston. He was Proctor in 1504, and Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1507. In that year he was drowned, in travelling from 'the Monastery of St. James' to Oxford.

John Grene or **Green.** He was Vicar of Embleton, and died in 1524.

Henry Cosley. During his year of probation he became a Carthusian monk.

1500 (8 elected).

Philip Dense. He was a famous physician and astronomer,

and composed astronomical tables, formerly preserved in the College Library. He was cut off 'morbo pestilenti' in 1507, and was buried in the Choir.

John Wyngar. He appears as 'Senior Regent' and 'King.' He died in 1543.

John Johnson. He was Rector of Lapworth, and died in 1540.

Walter Morwen, S.T.B. He appears as 'Rex,' and was also Principal of Corner Hall. His name occurs several times in Boase's Register of the University. He was one of those nominated by Warden Chamber to succeed him.

John Bulcum. He resigned his Fellowship after his year of probation[1].

William Bysse. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall, died in 1507–8, and was buried under the Chapel tower.

Roger Marlande or **Morlande.** He was Vicar of Embleton for a year, and died in 1508.

John Scheffeld. He resigned his Fellowship as a Bachelor.

1503 (6 elected).

William Davyson or **Davidson.** According to Kilner, 'being guilty of perjury, he resigned his Fellowship.' This took place in 1507, after a solemn enquiry before 'the Warden and Seniors.'

John Hewis or **Hughes, D.C.L.** He was Proctor in 1510, afterwards Chaplain to Queen Catherine, and ultimately Chancellor of Lichfield. He appears as 'Senior Regens' and 'Rex,' in both which capacities he feasted the Fellows. He died in 1530.

Richard Symond or **Simons.** He was Northern Proctor in 1512. He appears as 'Senior Regens' and 'Rex,' and was afterwards Vicar of Ponteland.

John Pokyswell or **Poxwell.** He appears as 'Rex,' and

[1] A good many resignations seem to have taken place about this period. In 1511, a resolution was passed by the College against resignations to avoid punishment, declaring that no Fellow so resigning is to expect any more favour or benefit from the College—which does not appear to be a very effective penalty.

also as the purveyor of a special grand entertainment. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall, but resigned that office in 1514. He was one of the three nominated by Warden Chamber to succeed him.

William Knyght. He was presented to the Free Chapel of Kibworth in 1509.

Robert Elys. He died of the plague, as a Probationer, and was buried the same night, 'probably in the churchyard.'

1504 (4 elected).

Thomas Wylford. He left the College as a B.A.,—possibly because he became 'vir maritatus.'

Henry Goldney.

Richard Walker. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1509 and Proctor in 1516. In 1509 he incurred College penalties for 'disobedience.'

Richard Frendshyp. In 1512, with Pullen, Norris and Gold, he was censured by the Warden and Seniors for 'rambling about the town.' In the same year he was expelled, but afterwards readmitted, was chosen 'Rex' in 1518, and, dying in 1523, was buried in the Chapel.

1507 (5 elected).

John Poleyn or **Pullayne.** He seems to have died in 1518, and to have been confounded by the annotators of the Savile and Wilson Catalogues with another John Pullain, a well-known writer and Reformer, who is not known to have been of Merton College.

John Norris. He died about 1522, and was buried on the north side of the Chapel—perhaps in the graveyard.

James Gilbert. He held various Church preferments, and seems to have died in 1556.

Thomas Drewe.

Richard Stylle or **Style.** He died of the plague, as a Bachelor, in 1509, and was buried in the Chapel.

Reign of Henry VIII.

1509 (3 elected).

John Blysse, M.D. He was a physician and astronomer of great repute, and, in 1510, was selected by the University to dispute with a Spaniard, of the University of Montpellier. It is mentioned in Boase's University Register (p. 52) that having been appointed guardian of the 'Danverse Chest' in 1513, he 'had to replace his share of 53*s.* deficient in it, July, 1515.' He afterwards married, practised in London, and died at Blackfriars in 1530.

William Lorymer. He also is described as 'medicus et uxoratus.' He is stated in Boase's University Register (p. 55) to have obtained his M.A. degree 'on condition of reading a book on medicine publicly and gratis in the Schools.' He resigned in 1511.

Edward Gold.

1510 (4 elected).

John Hoper or **Hooper.** He was uncle or kinsman of the famous Reformer, Bishop John Hooper, who suffered martyrdom in 1554–5, and who is said, on rather slight evidence, to have studied at Merton. John Hooper, senior, was Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1514, but still Fellow of Merton, and mentioned in the Register of 1513, 1515, and 1516. He gave the College a copy of Statutes, formerly in the Warden's custody. Kilner states elsewhere that he 'put up the windows in' the chamber no longer to be identified but then known as '*Oxonium quare.*'

Thomas Moscroffe or **Musgrave, M.D.** and **S.T.B.** He was Proctor in 1517, and in 1522 was appointed by Cardinal Wolsey to be lecturer on medicine in Corpus Christi College, on which ground he obtained a dispensation from the usual University exercises. In 1523 he was Commissary of the University, and died in 1527. Astry thinks that he probably acted as Linacre Lecturer, before those Lectureships were endowed.

John Holder. He was Rector of Gamlingay, and, according to Kilner, 'caused to be transcribed the book of Statutes which the Sub-Warden keeps;' as John Hoper had caused to be transcribed the other copy long in the custody of the Warden. In 1519 he was chosen 'Rex,' as we learn from the Register, 'eight Bachelors having previously made a circuit of the fire in the Hall with letters and a seal, observing the rites prescribed by ancient custom.'

Christopher Blont. According to the Wilson Catalogue, he did not fulfil his year of probation, but resigned his Fellowship before admission[1].

1512 (5 admitted).

John Tutt. He died in 1520 or 1521, and was buried in the Choir.

Thomas Langley. He gave plate to the College, and was buried in the Chapel.

John Harreys or **Harreis.**

Henry Tyndall, S.T.B. He became Warden in 1544. [See above.]

Robert Searlys or **Searle, S.T.B.** In 1524 he was chosen 'Rex,' and in the same year became Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East[2], where he became noted for his invectives against heretics. He was chosen by Cranmer one of six preachers to expose the errors of the Roman Church, but having betrayed a leaning towards Romanism, incurred the Archbishop's censure, first recanted, then attacked Cranmer, afterwards sought his pardon, and finally bore testimony against him, during the Marian persecution[3].

1516 (4 elected).

John Cloterboke. He was chosen 'Rex' in 1525.

Simon Balle. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall, and

[1] A note to the Old Catalogue says that he was expelled.

[2] His presentation to this Church on Dec. 20, 1524, is recorded in the archives of the City.

[3] In the Old Catalogue he is said to have been Proctor.

Proctor in 1526. In the same year he was chosen 'Rex.' In 1527 he was admitted M.B., and licensed to practise medicine.

Thomas Jonsone or **Johnson.** He died in 1520 or 1521, and is said to have been buried in the Chapel.

William Tresham, S.T.P. He was a man of gentle birth and great learning, who played an eminent part in the University politics of the sixteenth century. In 1523 he was unanimously elected Registrar (*tabellio* or *scriba*) of the University. In 1532 he was nominated on the original foundation of Cardinal College. In the same year he became Commissary of the University, and held the office fifteen years. In this capacity he seems to have become unpopular with the citizens of Oxford, for in certain articles exhibited by the Mayor and Burgesses against the Chancellor and Scholars, in 1532, he is accused of various arbitrary acts, such as 'proclaiming himself justice of the peace openly in the markett without comission or charter,' and holding an inquest without lawful authority in his own College. In 1540 he was one of those appointed to examine the 'Bishops' book,' and other religious questions of the day. In 1546, being already Prebendary of Lincoln and Canon of Oxford Cathedral at Osney, he was transferred to a Canonry of Christ Church, then made the seat of a Cathedral. He then retired for a while, but again became Commissary in 1550, and filled that office several times afterwards. Having espoused the Romish side in the Reformation-controversy, he publicly disputed with Peter Martyr in the Divinity School, but in 1553 was consigned to the Fleet prison. In 1554 he was one of those assigned to argue against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford. Notwithstanding this, he was sent, in 1558, on a deputation to congratulate Queen Elizabeth on her accession, and was graciously received; soon after which he obtained the Chancellorship of Chichester Cathedral, with a prebendal stall. In 1560, however, on declining the oath of the Royal Supremacy, he was not only deprived of his Canonry at Christ Church, and other preferments, but committed to the custody of Archbishop Parker at

Lambeth. He was shortly released, on giving bail against attempting to disturb the new ecclesiastical order, and engaging to live in Northamptonshire or the immediate neighbourhood. Accordingly, he retired to his own Rectory of Bugbrook, and died there in 1569. Though he is said to have been the means of procuring large donations from Queen Mary for the benefit of the University, he released the University from all claims for arrears of salary, when he resigned the Vice-Chancellorship in 1560, having thus served it gratuitously for some twenty years.

1520 (4 elected)[1].

George Owen, M.D. He was a celebrated physician, and in this capacity attended Henry VIII, 'Queen Jane,' as the Old Catalogue styles her, Edward VI, and Queen Mary. Henry VIII made over to him Nun Hall and St. Alban Hall, which had come into the King's hands on the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, and which afterwards passed into the possession of the College, by purchase from Messrs. Pollard and Perott, who had purchased it from the assignees of George Owen [2]. Henry VIII also left him £100 by will, and Edward VI is said to have rewarded him with lands. He died in 1558 of an 'epidemic fever.'

John Barlowe.

Thomas Peyrson. According to the Old Catalogue, while still a B.A. he embraced the religion of those called 'Fratres Observationum.'

Thomas Raynolde or Reynolde. In 1529 he was chosen 'Rex.' In 1531, all the Masters 'being assembled at the north door of the Hall,' he received a dispensation enabling him to hold the living of Lambourne[3]. In 1540 he became Rector of Lapworth.

[1] The date of this election, according to Astry, is 1520, to which Kilner appends the note, 'rectius 1519.' In many of the elections which follow, the date assigned by Astry differs by a year from that given in the Old Catalogue, which is adopted in the text.

[2] See the abstract of this deed in p. 77 of a volume labelled Kilner's MSS. II, now in the possession of the College.

[3] In June, 1536, a Thomas Raynolde, who may probably have been the same, was admitted B.D. 'after twelve years' study.'

1521 (4 elected).

Humphrey Blewet or **Bluet, M.D.** In 1530 he appears to have been one of two M.D.'s only in the University. Among other notices of him in the University Register, we find that he was excused, in January 1533, 'from composing a book against the plague and reading the third book of Galen *de temperamentis*.' After all, however, he wrote a treatise on the mode of avoiding the plague. He is stated to have married and died many years afterwards at Calais, where he was buried.

Guy Gorgeym or **Gourgeyne.** He obtained a dispensation from disputing, after taking his B.A. degree in 1519, 'because the plague is in Canterbury College, to which he belongs.' He became Vicar of Wolford in 1523–4, and died in 1544.

Edward Kemp. He died a B.A.

Richard Langrish, S.T.P. He was Chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey, and placed (with Tresham and Raynoldes) on the foundation of Cardinal College. In January, 1530–1, he obtained a dispensation from University exercise 'because he is to preach in his own College.' After holding other benefices, he became Archdeacon of Cleveland, and Chaplain to the Archbishop of York. He died in 1547.

1522 (8 elected).

John Davy. He was chosen 'Rex' in 1532.

Silvester Genyns. He resigned his Fellowship as a B.A.

John Boose. He died before his admission.

Richard Ewer, S.T.B. He is stated to have also studied at Cambridge. He was chosen 'Rex' in 1530. He was Rector of Hornsey and Canon of Worcester by the Charter founding that see, besides holding other preferments. He died in 1558.

John Master.

Robert Taylor. In February, 1527–8, he became Registrar of the University, on Tresham's resignation, and was succeeded in 1531–2 by Richard Smyth. We learn from Boase's University Register (p. 115) that on October 11, 1531, 'Tailer

(Taylor) gave the Vice-Chancellor in presence of Congregation a book of suspected heresy, a metrical dialogue between a gentleman and a ploughman (*colonus*) of England, which he seized from a man at a place near Polton, ten miles from Canterbury, in the presence of witnesses, to free himself from suspicion.' He was Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1530, and chosen 'Rex' in 1531 by 'the Fellows assembled by the fire in Hall, according to ancient custom.' He was afterwards a Prebendary of Chichester, and commissioned by Cranmer to visit that Diocese.

Walter Buckler. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1527, and Proctor in 1528, when his colleague was a Chaplain of Merton. About the same time, he was Canon of Cardinal College, and then studied for a while at Paris. In 1534 he became Bachelor of Divinity, though not in Holy Orders. He was sent by Henry VIII on a mission to Paris, and, having been knighted by Edward VI, was despatched to Bath, to promote the cause of the Reformation in that part of the country. He was afterwards on Queen Elizabeth's Council. Having married the widow of Edward Tame, lord of the manor of Fairford, he obtained a grant of the Fairford estate, formerly belonging to the Earl of Warwick, died there, and was buried in Fairford Church.

John Roose or **Rose.**

1524 (3, or 5, elected).

George Plankney. He is said to have resigned his Fellowship in 1526–7.

John Marley or **Marlow.** He was Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster, and Treasurer of Wells Cathedral. He was also Sub-Warden, and 'œconomus Doctoris Chamber Custodis.' He died in 1543.

William Pedyll. He was Proctor in 1532, and, according to Astry, made Principal of St. Alban Hall 'with the unanimous assent of all its members.' He died in 1536, leaving all his books and £4 to the College.

*'D. Wilde; *D. Fleyt or Flete.' These two names are inserted, by a later hand, in the Old Catalogue, and are adopted by Wood in one of his copies of the Savile Catalogue.

1526 (3 elected).

Thomas Raynolds, S.T.P. He became Warden in 1545. [See above.]

Robert Purvyar. He died in 1536, and was buried in the Chapel.

Thomas Tylman.

1528 (5 elected).

Henry Devynell. He was chosen 'Rex' in 1533, 'because he was promoted to the living of Bridport in Dorsetshire.'

John Foster, S.T.B.

William Devenysh, S.T.B. In 1534 he became Provost of Queen's[1]. Being Chaplain to Henry VIII, he was presented by him, in 1544, to a Canonry of Canterbury. Under Edward VI, he became a Canon of Windsor, but, under Mary, was ousted from his Canonry of Canterbury, on account of his marriage. In 1556, however, he obtained a prebend of Chichester, and held this, with his Canonry of Windsor, at his death in 1558.

Richard Smyth, S.T.P. He was one of the most celebrated scholars and theologians of the Reformation-age. In 1531 he became Registrar of the University, on Robert Taylor's resignation, and soon afterwards Rector of Cuxham, Principal of St. Alban Hall, Prælector of Theology at Magdalen, and Regius Professor of Divinity, in which capacity he subscribed to the Royal Supremacy in 1537. In May, 1536, he was 'allowed to read *bibliam biblicé*, as the King's *prælector theologicæ lectionis*[2].' He was also employed in compiling the so-called 'Bishops' Book,' was Prebendary of St. Paul's, and was Rector of St. Dunstan's in the East. Under Edward VI, he adopted the principles of the Reformers, and

[1] By his gift, Queen's College obtained possession of St. Edmund Hall.
[2] Boase's Register of the University, p. 146.

recanted his errors at St. Paul's Cross on May 15, 1547, but in the next year was deprived of his prebend, in favour of Peter Martyr, whom he challenged to a public discussion in the Divinity School on May 4, 1549. For some reason or other, however, he failed to appear, and his place was taken by Tresham. He then retired to St. Andrew's and afterwards to Louvain, where he was made Professor of Theology. After the accession of Mary, he returned, and recovered his Professorship at Oxford, becoming also Canon of Christ Church and Chaplain to the Queen. In 1555 he was Vice-Chancellor, and not only argued in public against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, but when Ridley and Latimer were burned, preached a sermon before the stake on the text, 'Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing[1].' He also gave testimony against Cranmer, who had treated him kindly under Edward VI. Upon Elizabeth's accession, he lost all his preferments, and was given into the custody of Archbishop Parker, under whose persuasions he again recanted, and published his recantation in the Divinity School. But having escaped from the hands of Parker, he fled to Douay, and was promoted by Philip II to the highest honours in the new University of Douay, where he died and was buried in 1563.

John Ramrige or **Ramridge, S.T.P.** He was chosen 'Rex' in 1537, and was successively Rector of St. Michael's, Coventry, Prebendary of Lichfield, Canon of Westminster, Dean of Lichfield (1554)[2], and Archdeacon of Derby (1558). Foreseeing the changes which must ensue upon the accession of Elizabeth, he retired to Flanders, and was murdered by robbers.

1530 (5 elected).

John Estwicke. In 1539 he was chosen 'Rex.' In 1542,

[1] At this time, October 16, Martiall appears to have been Vice-Chancellor, or perhaps deputy to Raynolds.

[2] It is mentioned by Kilner that he succeeded in the Deanery Richard Williams, who was deprived of all his ecclesiastical preferments, 'because he had married a widow.'

and again in 1543, he was elected Proctor, 'by the votes of Doctors and Heads of Houses alone.' In 1543 he became Principal of St. Alban Hall. In 1546 he resigned his Fellowship 'pro quibusdam beneficiis mihi à Custode et Sociis dicti Collegii concessis,' but with a year of grace. In 1556, by a letter dated from Shrewsbury, he bound himself and his executors to repay the College a debt of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1561, a John Estwicke, believed by Kilner to be the same, accounted with the College for the Chapel of Burmington, and a moiety of the Rectory of Wolford.

Anthony Saunders. He is said by Anthony Wood to have resigned in 1556.

James Watts. He died as a Probationer.

John Parkhurst, S.T.P. He was originally of Magdalen College. Jewell was his Postmaster when he was Fellow of Merton, and owed much to his assistance, but afterwards became a Scholar of Corpus Christi College, and it is stated by Astry that Parkhurst, then Rector of Cleeve Episcopi, would sometimes come to Oxford in order to hear Jewell's lectures. As a resident Fellow, he composed many comic verses on his brother-Fellows, some of which have been preserved. Under Mary, he retired abroad, but returned under Elizabeth and was made Bishop of Norwich in 1560. In 1566, with four other Bishops, he received his Doctor's degree in London, at the hands of Laurence Humphrey, Regius Professor of Divinity, specially delegated for that purpose by the University. He died and was buried at Norwich in 1574.

Robert Huicke, M.D. He was physician to Queen Elizabeth, and a Fellow of the College of Physicians. In 1534 he was Principal of St. Alban Hall, and in 1561–2 he was one of three presented to the Visitor for the Wardenship. It was not until 1566 that he was incorporated M.D. at Oxford, having previously graduated at Cambridge. By his will he left his estates to the College, in case his two daughters should die without issue, but, although this condition was satisfied, the devise never took effect.

1532 (3 elected).

Richard Powle or **Powell.** He became Vicar of Wolford in 1544.

Robert (or **Richard**) **Hodshon,** 'medicus et uxoratus.'

Laurence Hulett. He was master of a school at Croydon.

1533 (5 elected).

Humphrey Burneforte. He was Principal of St. Alban Hall 1536–1543, and Chaplain of the University. He seems to have been Rector of Cuxham, and to have died in 1558.

Laurence Blockley.

Thomas Lovel. He died in 1558.

Peter Borow or **Burrowes.** Jewell was originally his pupil, but passed into the charge of Parkhurst on Borow's presentation to the Vicarage of Croydon. He was chosen 'Rex' in 1558.

John Stoyt, S.T.B. He was Proctor in 1539 and 1545. He died Rector of Gamlingay in 1587, leaving the College £6 13*s.* 4*d*[1].

1537 (5 elected).

William Browne. He was a Canon of Wells. There was a monument to him in the Chapel, which was defaced when the roof fell in.

Robert Ward, S.T.B. He was a physician and dialectician of great repute in his day. In 1550 he became Public Lecturer or Prælector in Philosophy. In 1554 he led the argument against Ridley in the Divinity School. In 1558 he died at Rome, whither he went to visit the Pope.

Thomas Hewis, M.D. He was physician to Queen Mary, and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. He died in 1558, and is mentioned as a 'benefactor' of Merton.

Philip Huckle. In 1550, being already M.A. and a student of Theology, he was allowed by the University to transfer himself to the study of Civil Law.

[1] The entry of this legacy in the Wilson Catalogue is evidently in a different hand, being the first of such entries in that Catalogue; whence Kilner infers that it was compiled before 1587.

Hermann Byllsone or **Bilson.** He was connected by descent with the Dukes of Bavaria, and his son became Bishop of Winchester.

1538 (4 elected).

Robert Barnes or **Barons, M.D.** He was the first 'Higher' Linacre Lecturer, being appointed by the College in 1558, with the approval of Tunstall, Linacre's surviving trustee. He received the degree of M.D. in the lodgings of the Warden of All Souls, by express decree of the University, that he might be qualified to dispute before Queen Elizabeth, then about to visit Oxford. He died in his own house, Blackhall, in St. Giles's, in 1604, sixty-six or sixty-seven years after his election. He gave the College many books.

Giles Wale, M.B. He was admitted to practise medicine in March, 1555–6, and died in 1598.

John Denyshe.

Thomas Carter. He resigned his Fellowship in 1548.

1539 (4 elected).

John Squibb.

Edward Bell. He left the College £10 in 1577.

John Plumtree.

Richard Bower. At the end of his year of probation, he became Rector of Cuxham.

1540 (3 elected).

Edmund Palmer. He died in 1543, and was buried 'under the Western wall before St. Katharine's altar.'

Edmund Daniel, S.T.B. He was Canon of Worcester, and (in 1558) Dean of Hereford. In the following year he was deprived, as a Romanist, of both offices, and retired to Rome, where he died in 1576, and was buried in the Chapel of the English College.

Thomas Symons. He was an eminent physician, and an intimate friend of Parkhurst and Jewell. He was Proctor in 1548, and died in College in 1552 or 1553, when his administrators were his brother-Fellows Barnes and Smith.

1541 (3 elected).

Nicholas Grimoalde or **Grymboldus.** He was of Christ's College, Cambridge, and was incorporated at Oxford as B.A. In 1547 he was admitted at Christ Church, then recently founded, and lectured there on Rhetoric, when the Schools were closed in the reign of Edward VI. Under Mary 'he was a time-server,' but enjoyed a great reputation, as a scholar, in the reign of Elizabeth.

Christopher Maromberdge or **Marrynbarde**[1].

William Martial or **Marshall.** He became Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1547, but was expelled from the office, as a Papist, in 1567. He was Proctor in 1551, and became Sub-Warden, as Senior Fellow, 'without election.' Anthony Wood states that he and the Junior Proctor, being zealous in the execution of their office, 'were brought into trouble by evil men, especially those that sided with the City, being encouraged to do so, because the University was now empty, and those knowing in the controversies were either ejected by the Visitors, or else had left their places of their own accord.' He seems to have succeeded Smyth as acting Vice-Chancellor in the course of 1555, and to have held that office—perhaps only as deputy to Raynolds—on October 16, when Ridley and Latimer were burned. He gave the College £4 and several books. He died in 1583, and was buried in the Chapel.

1545 (3 elected).

Thomas Palmer. He gave the College £4, was Vicar of Embleton, and died in 1565.

John Garnett or **Gardner.**

Richard Harford. He filled various posts in the Cathedrals of Hereford and St. David's, including the Archdeaconry of the latter, if not of the former. He gave the College, appar-

[1] Two Christopher 'Masynberdes' or 'Massyngberdes' are mentioned in the University Register, but probably represent the same person, who was incorporated from Cambridge, became D.C.L., and apparently proceeded afterwards to his B.A. degree.

ently in 1577, lands in Gloucestershire, yielding a rent of £26 6*s.* 8*d.* A letter from his brother disputes the legal validity of this gift, but waives the point, because the College had lately elected 'a neighbour's son of Harford.' Anthony Wood supposes him to have died in 1593, but this was probably the date at which the College got possession of the lands.

*'**1546. Edward Margick.**' He is mentioned in Anthony Wood's copy of the Savile Catalogue, dated 1656, as having been admitted Fellow 'per regias literas.' He is not mentioned in the originals of the Old, Savile, or Wilson Catalogues.

1547 (3 elected).

Robert Dawkes or **Dawkyz.** He lost his Fellowship in 1561 on declining the Oath of Royal Supremacy.

John Woodward. He gave the College a brass astrolabe. He died in France in 1597.

John Brenton[1].

1548 (5 elected).

William Smith. He became Rector of Cuxham in 1556, died in 1580, and was buried in St. Mary Magdalen Church.

George Alynson.

James Gervase, LL.D. He became Warden in 1559. [See above.]

Roger Norwood.

Thomas Lawrence.

1549 (4 elected).

Thomas Rowland.

Thomas Alan. He resigned his Fellowship in 1556.

Richard Sheper. It is recorded of him that by the advice of his friends, and with the leave of the Warden and Fellows, he migrated to Magdalen College in his year of probation, but resigned his Fellowship there in 1558.

[1] He is noted by Astry as having been elected after the other two, but in the same year. In Anthony Wood's 1658 copy of the Savile Catalogue, all three are entered under the year 1546.

David de la Hyde. He was of Irish birth, and attained the highest reputation in the University for eloquence and dialectical skill, so that when he appeared in the Schools, all gave place to him. He was specially noted for a humorous oration 'de ligno et fœno,' delivered in Merton College Hall when Gaspar Heywood was elected 'Rex fabarum,' or 'Christmas Lord,' as Holinshed calls him, in referring to this incident. In the early part of Elizabeth's reign he declined the Oath of Royal Supremacy, and, forfeiting his Fellowship, returned to Ireland, where he devoted himself to graver studies in Theology and scholarship.

1551 (3 elected).

Richard Herteborne[1]. He was Vicar of Ponteland.

Thomas Copledicke. He resigned his Fellowship in 1553.

George James. He was a medical man, and was solemnly appointed first Junior Linacre Lecturer, under letters from Tunstall, in 1559, before all the Fellows, in the Warden's house. Next year he resigned it.

1554 (3 elected)[2].

Anthony Atkins. He was expelled, with Dawkes and De la Hyde, for declining the Oath of Royal Supremacy, after Elizabeth's accession[3].

Gaspar Heywood, S.T.P. He is mentioned as the last who held the office of 'Rex fabarum.' He was a poet and philosopher of some repute among his friends, but, in 1558, after three admonitions, he quitted the College of his own accord, for fear of expulsion, and was elected a Fellow of All Souls—to which Anthony Wood appends the curious note, 'because belike of the seniority.' When the Reformation was estab-

[1] He is called 'Hardbone' in the Register of the Chancellor's Court for 1552.

[2] In the case of this election, and the next, the Old Catalogue gives the date of admission to the position of actual Fellows, not of the original admission, which is that stated in the text.

[3] In 1558, Anthony 'Atkyns or Atkynson' had a preaching licence under the University seal for preaching either in Latin or in English.

lished under Elizabeth, he went abroad, and entered the Jesuit order at Rome. Having passed seventeen years at a German University, he returned to England in 1581, on a mission from Pope Gregory XIII, being the first Jesuit to do so. In 1584 he was arrested and thrown into prison, as he was on his way to France, but was soon released, and settled at Naples, where he died in 1597, and was buried in the Jesuits' College.

John Wolley. He was a man of good family, and had travelled much, when he distinguished himself by a disputation before Queen Elizabeth, then visiting Oxford, on September 3, 1588. In 1568, he became the Queen's Latin Secretary in place of Roger Ascham, and afterwards held a prebend of Wells, and the Deanery of Carlisle. In 1579 he was Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and in 1592 he was knighted. He was a trusted councillor of Elizabeth, and one of the Commissioners appointed to adjudicate on the case of Mary Queen of Scots. He died in 1597, and was buried in St. Paul's, where a marble monument, with an inscription, was erected to his memory.

1554 (3 elected).

Thomas Atkinson. He took his B.A. degree from Brasenose. He is stated in notes to the Savile and Wilson Catalogues to have been 'Procurator generalis Regius apud Wallos,' a councillor of Queen Elizabeth, and charged with a general criminal jurisdiction, as would appear, in the Principality of Wales.

John Broke or **Broykes.** He was the Fellow who caused the College Gate to be opened when it was closed against Warden Mann in 1562 [see above]. In the following January, he was admonished by the Warden, with the consent of the Seniors. Two years later, he was expelled for defrauding the College in his office of Bursar.

William Hall or **Hawll.** He was an eminent physician, who headed the opposition to Mann, and was expelled in 1562 by the Visitor's Commissioners, either for that reason or because he favoured the Romanist party. He migrated to University

College, died there a few months later—it is said of grief—and was buried in the Church of St. Peter's-in-the-East.

1557 (3 elected).

Edmund Ansloe or **Ansley.** He was a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. He was expelled, or resigned, 'on account of religion,' in his year of probation. In 1573 he was imprisoned, on suspicion of carrying on correspondence with Mary Queen of Scots.

Roger Gifford, M.D. He resigned his Fellowship in consequence of his share in the disturbances connected with the admission of Warden Mann, and failed to obtain readmission, notwithstanding the intercession of the Visitor and the Earl of Leicester. Having confessed his error before the Visitor, however, he was appointed (or re-appointed) Junior Linacre Lecturer, and was also Proctor both in 1562 and 1563. In that year he became a Fellow of All Souls. In 1566 he was selected to dispute before Queen Elizabeth at Oxford, being either then or afterwards one of her Physicians in Ordinary. In 1575 he was made President of the Royal College of Physicians.

1557 (5 elected).

Benizius Ryge or **Ridge.** He was of Brasenose, and died in his year of probation.

James Leech. He was a renowned disputant in his day. In 1562 he entered into a contest with Hall and other Fellows upon what then was a burning question—the character of the hymns to be sung in the Hall. Being appointed to dispute in St. Mary's before Queen Elizabeth in 1566, he elicited loud applause from the Queen herself by declaring his readiness to maintain his propositions through life or death. In 1567 he resigned his Fellowship, on obtaining the advowson both of the Rectory and of the Vicarage of Dodington. In 1589 he died, leaving the College above two hundred volumes, and £200 to buy lands in Cheshire, which the College employed—it is said,

at the instance of Sir H. Savile—in buying lands at Bielby in Yorkshire.

William Harrisson. He resigned of his own accord in his year of probation. He gave or left the College a sum of money, with an astronomical instrument. He died in 1564.

Henry Atwood. He was originally of Christ Church, and became Junior Linacre Lecturer in 1560. It appears that in 1562 he had resigned his Fellowship on condition of obtaining a presentation to Gamlingay, which was granted subject to the approval of Archbishop Parker's Visitors. This approval being withheld, the Commissioners decreed his readmission.

John Pott. He was a physician and philosopher. In 1563, being an enemy of Warden Mann, he was expelled on a charge of perjury by a vote of five out of six Seniors, but in 1568 was permitted to act as private tutor to young Faunt, then a student at Merton, who afterwards became a Jesuit at Louvain, when Pott, who had accompanied him thither, left him and went to Ireland.

Thomas Bynion or **Bynyon.** Vicar of Embleton. He is probably the same as 'Benyer' mentioned as one of Mann's opponents.

1559 (4 elected).

Edward Maningham. He was 'a youth of great promise,' who died in 1562.

Henry (or **George**) **Jackson.**

John Hemminge. He was a considerable divine, and Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, the advowson of which was granted to him, in Mann's time. He died in 1580.

John Brogden. He left the College of his own accord at the end of his year of probation[1].

1560 (4 elected).

Thomas Wanton, M.D. He was Linacre Lecturer in 1568. It appears that in 1567 he incurred the Visitor's censure by

[1] A. Wood notes the election, with these four, of Robert Hupper, who was never admitted.

taking upon himself to preside at the 'calling' of Messrs. Fletcher, Fleetwood, and Rowe, to their M.A. degree, though he was not the Senior Fellow in residence. For this he was fined 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the calling was to be repeated in due form.

John Handcock. He became Junior Linacre Lecturer in 1563, and was an earnest preacher.

Ambrose Appleby. He was expelled in 1563 for his share in the disturbances on Mann's election, being convicted of perjury by a vote of five out of six Seniors.

Thomas Turner. With the permission of the College, he migrated to Magdalen College.

1560 (4 elected)[1].

John Comporte and **George Cotton.** Both left the College of their own accord in their year of probation.

Thomas Jessop, M.D. He was Junior Linacre Lecturer, and in 1614 gave the College an annual rent-charge of £20 on his estate at Radipole, mainly in order to augment the 'commons' of the Postmasters. He died in 1616.

Francis Butler. He was admitted an actual Fellow under the authority of Archbishop Parker's Visitors (in 1562), with a saving clause against his election being invalidated by the absence of the Warden. He seems to have resigned his Fellowship in the following year.

1562 (7 elected).

Richard Spicer. He is described as 'a preacher of God's Word,' but an entry in the Register shows that in July, 1563, he was 'deemed undeserving' and rejected by a majority of the Seniors, at the end of his year of probation.

Arthur Atley or **Atye.** He was Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1567. In the same year he accompanied Warden Mann on his mission to Spain, having already procured from the

[1] In the Savile Catalogue the date of this election is given as 1561, but in the Old Catalogue the exact day is given, December 27, 1560. Probably there were two elections in one year.

College the advowson of Cuxham. In 1570 he was Proctor, and from 1572 to 1582 he was Public Orator. Being a favourite and secretary of Leicester, he actually succeeded, by his influence, in persuading the College to grant him the manor of Maldon for 5000 years. On Leicester's death he attached himself to Essex, on whose fall he was compelled to fly. He was knighted at the beginning of James I's reign, died in 1604, and was buried at Harrow.

Richard Lloyd. He was a Welshman, and, as he was not born in one of the privileged dioceses, a special resolution was passed authorising his election. He was expelled for immorality by an unanimous vote in 1568, but seems to have been re-admitted on condition of good behaviour.

Stephen Ducket. He resigned of his own accord.

Thomas Williams, M.B. He was a physician, and Junior Linacre Lecturer. He died in 1578–9, and was buried in the Choir.

William Wolton.

James Whytehead. He was a physician, and Junior Linacre Lecturer. He died in 1576, and was buried in the Choir. He left 40*s.* to 'Read's Chest.'

1563 (7 elected).

Ralph Latham. He was a mathematician. Having been expelled by the Fellows, 'animated by party-motives,' as Astry says, he was restored by the Archbishop of Canterbury on his Visitation in 1567, but resigned in 1570. It appears from Strype's Life of Parker that the unwillingness of the Fellows to restore Latham was part of a reactionary conspiracy to reverse the proceedings that followed Mann's appointment, during his absence in Spain. This movement was ultimately put down by the Visitor, who, however, was disappointed by Latham's refusal to take Orders.

Thomas Bodley. He is described in the Catalogues as 'alter Ptolemæus,' and 'Oxoniensis Vaticani Fundator.' He was originally of Magdalen College, was Greek Prælector in Merton,

and was Proctor in 1569. He was afterwards Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, and was employed by her on missions to Germany, France, and Belgium. Having enriched the old University Library with large donations of books, he left money enough to build the upper stories of the Schools, which have since been known as the Bodleian Library. He also did much towards restoring and adorning the College Library, for which he is said to have recovered some of the MSS. carried away in Edward VI's reign. By his will he left the College two hundred marks, to be kept in a chest of elaborate construction, out of which each Fellow should have the right to borrow £5. He died in London on January 28, 1612, and was buried with great solemnity in the Choir of Merton College Chapel. A laudatory oration on him was delivered in the Divinity Schools by the Public Orator, Isaac Wake of Merton, and the famous scholar John Hales, also of Merton, wrote the epitaph on his monument.

Hercules Pyne. He left the College of his own accord.

John Tatam or **Tatham.** Some delay took place in raising him and Bourne to the degree of Master-Fellows, during Warden Mann's absence in Spain, probably in consequence of their having supported him. They were, however, called to this degree under an order of Archbishop Parker, in 1567. He was Senior Proctor in 1573. He is particularly stated to have been 'without an office, though he was one of the five (resident) Seniors, because he had not a Postmaster sleeping in his own bedroom[1].' He became Rector of Lincoln College in 1574, died in 1576, and was buried in All Saints' Church.

Robert Fletcher. He lost his Fellowship in 1569, because he 'behaved himself intolerably towards the new Warden' (Bickley). He afterwards became a schoolmaster, and 'pious minister of God's Word.'

Christian Peterson—'verbi Dei minister.' He is stated in

[1] In 1577, an order was made by Warden Bickley that no Postmaster should be admitted, unless he should have a Master-Fellow as his tutor and sleep in his tutor's bedroom.

the Register to have been of German birth. He died in 1576.

Samuel Burne or **Bourne.** He, too, became a schoolmaster and preacher. He died in 1570.

1564.

Edmund Fleetwood. He was twice Proctor, in 1571 and 1572. In 1569 he was Prælector of Logic in the University, and obtained a short dispensation from ordinary readings. Like Fletcher, he was expelled in 1569 for 'intolerable' disrespect towards Warden Bickley, but restored by the Visitor in 1572, on condition of resigning, so as to avoid the disgrace of expulsion[1].

1565 (7 elected).

Edmund Bunny, S.T.P. Having been a Probationer of Magdalen College, and afterwards studied Law, he returned to Oxford, took his M.A. degree, and was then elected Fellow of Merton, 'because there was not one then in that Society that could, or would, preach any public sermon in the College-turn.' Having become a famous preacher, he filled a great variety of ecclesiastical offices, including prebends of York and St. Paul's. He was one of those presented to the Visitor, with Savile, for the Wardenship, in 1585. He died in 1617, and was buried in York Minster.

William Rowe. He was known as a scholar and divine. Astry refers to Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Parker for notices of him and some of his brother-Fellows.

Christopher Atkinson, M.D. It is recorded that he married in 1574, and that his Fellowship was declared vacant in 1576.

Henry Savile. He became Warden in 1585. [See above.]

John Whetcombe.

John Wintle—'Verbi Dei pius prædicator.'

William Wilson, S.T.P. He left the College in 1575, on his acceptance of a living from the Earl of Pembroke. The

[1] In this case, as in Fletcher's, the sentence was pronounced by the Warden and six Seniors.

question of 'uberius beneficium,' so often discussed by the College, was raised again in his case, and Archbishop Parker's authority was invoked in his favour, but the College ultimately decided that he must resign his Fellowship. He also held other ecclesiastical preferments, including a prebend of Windsor, where he died and was buried in 1615, at the age of 73. At all events, he was a friend of Merton, since, having suffered himself from cold in the 'Bachelors' chambers' under the Library, he gave the College £20 for the erection of chimneys, and £50 towards a new building. He is also the reputed author of the so-called Wilson Catalogue, which must probably have been completed before 1584[1], when he became Prebendary of Windsor.

1569 (4 elected).

John Chamber. He was much respected as a scholar, and is said to have instructed Savile in mathematics. Anthony Wood mentions it as a notable fact that, being a Yorkshireman, he was elected Fellow upon his merits alone, 'though Merton College had then no lands in that county.' However, he left the College £1000 to purchase lands in Yorkshire for the maintenance of two Eton Postmasters, to bear his own name. He was Fellow of Eton College, and Prebendary of Windsor. He died at Eton in 1604, and was buried in St. George's Chapel.

Thomas Tatam. He was Principal of the Postmasters in 1582, and resigned his Fellowship in 1586, receiving 5 marks 'pro anno gratuitatis.' He is also mentioned in 1577 as 'Exhibitionarius Hamsterley, qui ideo caret officio,' and Kilner notes him as the first Fellow who had the lease of Burmington.

William White. Kilner notes him as having 'compounded' in 1584. In 1587 he resigned, and travelled abroad. In 1590 the College granted him a lease of the 'Fleur de Luce' at Carfax.

[1] See Introduction.

Henry Ledsham, S.T.P. In 1576 he appears as 'promotus et uxoratus.' In the following year his Fellowship was declared vacant. He became Vicar of Halifax, but resigned the Vicarage in 1593.

1572 (8 elected)[1].

Daniel Bonde. He was probably from Brasenose College. In 1575 he obtained leave to travel, and resigned in 1577.

Henry Gervase, S.T.P. Having accepted the Rectory of Broughton in Leicestershire, he resigned in 1587, after a year of grace. He left the College £143.

John May. He died in 1577, perhaps of the plague, and was buried in the Chapel.

William Scott. He is mentioned in the Catalogues as a youth of rare learning and piety. He died in 1578[2].

Richard Radcliffe, M.D. In 1581 he became Principal of St. Alban Hall, being the last so appointed by the College. In this same year he resigned his Fellowship and married. After long practising as a physician in Oxford, he died in 1599, and was buried in St. Peter's-in-the-East.

John Norris. He was a physician, and resigned 'ob capellam de Burmington,' having obtained in 1586 a lease of the tithes. Other Senior Fellows afterwards held them without resigning[3].

Arthur Messinger.

William Wilkes. He was a great preacher, Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, and afterwards Chaplain to James I. He

[1] According to Kilner, the last three were elected later in the same year, reckoned by the Old Style.

[2] According to Kilner, this is the last name to which Anthony Wood refers as entered in the Savile Catalogue, and the first in the new part of the Wilson Catalogue.

[3] The advowson of Wolford was acquired by the Founder, and Burmington was then a chapelry to Wolford. After his death the rectorial tithes of Wolford were impropriated to the College, and a vicarage endowed, of which the College became patron. Not only the rectorial tithes, but the whole tithes of Burmington were so impropriated, no vicarage being endowed, but the College, as Rector, being bound to find a chaplain for the service of the chapel. About this time, a very questionable custom grew up of leasing the tithes of Burmington to the Senior Fellow, during his life, without a fine, upon condition of his finding a chaplain and repairing the chancel.

was expelled, was restored, and resigned in 1580, the Visitor's authority having been invoked upon a question relating to his year of grace. The history of this controversy is fully detailed in the College Register. Having been presented to St. Peter's-in-the-East in 1580, as an 'uberius beneficium,' he was given a year of grace, and in the following year his fellowship was declared vacant. Thereupon, he used influence with the Visitor (Archbishop Grindal) to procure the continuance of his Fellowship, and the Archbishop, 'moved by letters from certayne of Her Majesty's Privye Counsayle,' decreed his restoration. The Fellows demurred, in the absence of Warden Bickley, who advised them by letter to yield, but, on his return, found an unanimous opinion against the establishment of such a precedent, and went himself to see the Archbishop. What passed between them does not clearly appear, but on May 31 the Warden declared at a College meeting that Wilkes had ceased to be a Fellow. Wilkes, however, obtained the intervention of Dr. Aubrey, who, as the Archbishop's 'deputy,' again required the College to readmit him. The College at first complied, but on November 3 expelled him again for breaking the oath whereby he was bound not to appeal or invoke foreign intervention against his former expulsion. On November 19 a citation was posted up in the Chapel by the Archbishop's orders, calling upon the Warden and Fellows to appear at Lambeth on December 7, and answer for this contempt of Visitatorial authority. They appeared accordingly, and it was then arranged that the last sentence of expulsion should be recalled, but that Wilkes should be removed by the Visitor's authority as the holder of an 'uberius beneficium.' As, however, the formal order to that effect was long delayed, Warden Bickley addressed to the Visitor a very able letter of remonstrance, summing up the whole case with great clearness, and pointing out how fatal to College discipline was this apparent connivance, on the Visitor's part, with a manifest breach of the College statutes. Dr. Aubrey, on behalf of the Archbishop, replied to this letter on January 19, stating that

Wilkes' expulsion would certainly be confirmed, but stipulating for various pecuniary concessions on the part of the College. On January 24 Wilkes' resignation was actually received, but treated as null and void, since he ceased to be a Fellow on completing his year of grace. The College granted the request that he should be allowed for a short time to draw commons at his own charge, but refused, with proper spirit, to let him retain his rooms except by private agreement with the Fellow entitled to them, or to allow him the expenses incurred in his vexatious proceedings against the College.

1577 (7 elected).

Thomas Pett. He was elected both Dean and Bursar as a B.A., for want of Masters. In 1588 he was expelled for declining the Oath of Royal Supremacy. He afterwards went over to Ireland, and became a Judge there.

Jeffrey Harlestone or **Hurlestone.**

Thomas Lea, called Edward Lee in the Savile Catalogue, but 'Edward' is evidently by a later hand.

John Claveringe. When he was only B.A., Warden Bickley, by his own authority, made him lecturer on grammar. He afterwards became Fellow and Vice-Provost of Eton College, where he died and was buried in 1612.

Gaspar Colemore. He was Proctor in 1590, and was expelled for insubordination by order of the Visitor in 1598 (October 22).

Thomas Master. He was Prebendary of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Shropshire. He died in 1628.

Richard Fisher. His father claimed admission for him as of Founder's kin, but this claim was disallowed, and he was expressly elected on grounds of merit. He was Proctor in 1592, in the place of Thomas Savile who had died. On October 21, 1598, he was suspended from his Fellowship for insubordination, by an order of the Visitor, but restored in October, 1599.

1580 (6 elected).

Christopher Helme, LL.D. He was Archdeacon of Derby and Chancellor of Worcester. He seems to have died in 1628.

George Carleton, S.T.P. His father was keeper of Norham Castle, and he was instructed in grammar by Bernard Gilpin, 'the Northern Apostle.' He became Bishop of Llandaff in 1618, and Bishop of Chichester in 1619, having in the meantime attended the Synod of Dort. He died at Chichester, and was buried in the Cathedral in 1628.

Robert Brisenden. In 1589 he was elected Catechist, to catechise the students weekly. On October 21, 1598, he was suspended from his Fellowship for insubordination, by order of the Visitor. He was a Prebendary of Chichester, and died in 1609, leaving the College £5. He was buried in the Chapel.

Thomas Savile. He was a younger brother of Sir Henry Savile, and is described by Astry as 'sidus lucidissimum'—a model of the scholar and gentleman. He died, as Proctor, in 1592, and was buried in the Choir.

Anthony de Antonio.

William Edmundes. He died, Rector of Ibston, in 1587.

1584 (4 elected).

Thomas White.

Thomas French. He 'disputed' in the Hall, before Queen Elizabeth, on September 25, 1592. He afterwards married, and became Registrar of the University until 1629, when he died, and was succeeded by his son John French. He was buried at St. Peter's-in-the-East.

Robert Davye. After travelling abroad for more than a year, he died at Florence.

Isaac Cardenas. He was a Genevese, and recommended by the Queen.

1585.

Benjamin Bentham. He was a son of the Bishop of Lich-

field. He was suspended from his Fellowship for insubordination, by order of the Visitor, Oct. 31, 1598.

1586 (4 elected)[1].

Richard Trafford. He was 'opponent' in the disputations before Queen Elizabeth in 1592. He was Proctor in 1597.

Henry Wilkinson, S.T.B. He was a cousin of Sir H. Savile, and father of another Henry Wilkinson, known as a writer. Having accepted the living of Waddesdon in 1601, he restored to the College, in 1620, £20 which he had received 'pro communiis' in his year of grace. He died in 1647, aged 80.

Francis Mason. He was 'the son of a poor plebeian,' according to Anthony Wood, but 'making a hard shift to rub on,' until he obtained his Fellowship, became famous as the author of a Vindication of Anglican Orders, published in 1613, and republished in Latin, after his death, by Sir Nathaniel Brent, under the title of 'Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.' Hence his own literary title of 'Vindex Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.' At an earlier stage of his career, in 1591, he had been punished by the Vice-Chancellor for 'venting unseemly words against Thomas Aubrey,' a candidate for the B.D. degree. He was Rector of Orford in Essex, and died in 1621.

Henry Cuffe. He had been a Fellow of Trinity, but compelled to resign for reflections, which Anthony Wood says were true, on the character of the Founder. He was a great scholar, and was made Regius Professor of Greek. In 1594 he was Proctor. He afterwards became private Secretary to Essex, and being condemned as an accomplice, or instigator, of his crimes, was hanged at Tyburn in 1601.

1588 (3 elected).

Samuel Slade. He travelled much, especially in Greece, and was employed by Sir H. Savile to procure fragments

[1] In the Old Catalogue. Cuffe is entered separately, as elected later in the same year. In the Savile Catalogue, he stands first of the four.

of St. Chrysostom. He died in Zante before the year 1613. He was presented to Embleton, but gave up the living.

Christopher Dale. He was Proctor in 1603, when Laud was his colleague. In allusion to this association, the wits of the period described him as holding the office '*cum parvâ laude*,' since he became unpopular among the gownsmen, and, having been hissed in Convocation, was hooted on his way home to his College. He was a Prebendary of Rochester, and held that office in 1638.

Richard Taylor. He was a relation of Warden Bickley, and became a benefactor of the Bodleian Library.

1590.

William Daunton. He resigned in 1599, on accepting a benefice. He was afterwards Vicar of Elham.

1593 (3 elected).

John Tapsell[1]. He was a famous orator and disputant, specially remarkable for his gifts of memory. He died, Rector of St. Mary-hill, London, in 1637.

Thomas Allen. He was a great scholar, and, becoming Fellow of Eton, lived there many years, and was buried (in 1636) in Eton College Chapel. He gave Merton College many books for the Library.

Leonard Yate. Like Allen, he was originally of Brasenose. In 1608 he became Rector of Cuxham, and was buried there in 1662, aged 'about 92.' Anthony Wood visited him there in 1659, and heard from him that when the Founder's grave was opened in Savile's time, the silver chalice which he held in his hand was taken and used as a drinking-cup, a hole in the bottom, where the bowl had parted from the stem, being occasionally stopped by the finger in drinking.

[1] Astry enters him as Thomas Tapsell, but he is named 'John' both in the Old and the Savile Catalogues.

1594 (3 elected).

Nathaniel Brent. He became Warden in 1621. [See above.]

Edward Lee.

John King, S.T.P. He was one of those who 'disputed' before James I in 1603. He afterwards became successively Canon of Westminster, and Canon of Windsor, as well as Rector of Islip. He died in 1638, and was buried at St. George's, Windsor.

1595.

Richard Wright. He was Fellow of Eton College.

1596 (2 elected).

Theodore Gulson, or **Gulston, M.D.** In 1604, having incurred the censure of the College for an assault upon Mr. Blickard, he was deprived of his commons and College offices for six weeks. Nevertheless, he was a very accomplished man and eminent physician. Being Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, he left £200 to found there a Gulstonian Lectureship in Anatomy. He gave books for the Library of Merton College. He died in 1632.

John Talbott. He also practised medicine, but the only notice of his medical career is one attributing to his want of skill the death of the Countess of Rutland in 1612.

1597 (3 elected).

Thomas Horne, S.T.P. He became a Canon of Windsor, died in 1636, and was buried in St. George's Chapel.

Giles Cole.

Stukley Blickard. He seems to have held the Rectory of Farleigh and the Vicarage of Dodington for very short periods. He died in 1610.

1598 (5 elected).

William Simonson. He was often Vice-Warden, and in 1622 received a lease for life of the tithes of Burmington, which Brent (then Warden) had resigned. He died in 1651,

and left the College £100, out of which twenty silver cups were purchased.

Isaac Wake. He was a celebrated Public Orator of the University, and in that capacity published 'Rex Platonicus,' and his oration on the death of Bodley. Having been Ambassador to Venice and Switzerland, he was transferred to France. In 1619 he was knighted, and in 1623 he became Member for the University. He died at Paris in 1632.

Edward Rogers. 'Ad jus municipale studia transtulit.'

George Gerrard. He was Master of the Charterhouse.

William Gale.

1602 (4 elected).

Francis Grevill. He was Proctor in 1617, and, accompanying Isaac Wake on his mission to Italy, died at Coire in 1625.

Samuel Lane. He was Rector of Gamlingay and Ibstone. He died in 1624.

John Elly, S.T.P. He was Rector of Lapworth, Vicar of Elham, and ultimately Canon of Windsor. He died in 1639 (or 1668).

John Philipson. On the eve of becoming a Master-Fellow, he was prohibited from proceeding to his degree, and punished by a month's loss of commons, for calling Mr. Blickard (a brother-Fellow) 'hog and pig.' He died in 1623, and was buried in the Chapel.

1605 (2 elected).

John Hales. He was among the greatest scholars of his day, or, in the somewhat pompous Latinity of Astry, 'Musarum et Charitum certamen.' Born at Bath, he came up to Oxford at the age of 13, and obtained a Scholarship at Corpus Christi College, where he was discovered by the 'hedge beaters' of Sir H. Savile, as Anthony Wood calls them, and encouraged by him to stand at Merton. There, 'all the candidates being tested and examined to the utmost, he was the first that was chosen.' He was Regius Professor of Greek, and delivered a funeral oration on Thomas Bodley in 1613. He accompanied Dudley Carleton on his mission to Belgium,

and was employed to report on the proceedings of the Synod at Dort. He was deprived of a Canonry of Windsor which he held for a short time, but was for many years a Fellow of Eton, where he died in 1656, and was buried in the graveyard of Eton College Chapel.

John Morley. He was Rector of Lapworth for a month or two in 1613, but resigned it on being appointed to an Eton living at Wootton Courtney.

1606 (4 elected).

George Petty. He was stabbed to death, in a fit of madness, by John Holywell, a brother-Fellow, and great friend, apparently in 1630. He was buried in the Choir.

Timothy Hawkesworth. He died young, and much regretted, in 1613. He was buried in the Chapel.

Thomas Allen. He was Vicar of Elham.

Daniel James. He died on April 29, 1611, and was buried in the Chapel.

1607 (3 elected).

Peter Turner, M.D. He is said to have 'proceeded in Arts, and being not bound to any particular Faculty, as the Fellows of other Colleges are, became most admirably versed in all kinds of learning.' He was much trusted by Archbishop Laud, who even contemplated getting him made a Secretary of State. In 1641, he lodged a protest against what he considered an unconstitutional election of Fellows, and seems to have absented himself from the College, but to have enjoyed the King's favour. He was Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, as well as Savilian Professor of Geometry. He was expelled by the Parliamentary Visitors on November 9, 1648, and died in 1651.

Nicholas Marsh. He died in 1612, deeply lamented, leaving £20 for Read's Chest, and was buried in the Choir. His tombstone is now in the north transept.

William Dickinson, S.T.B. He held the livings of Appleton

and Bessilsleigh, and was 'sacellanus' to the Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University.

1611 (4 elected).

Richard Hawley, M.D. He obtained his medical degree at Leyden, and was incorporated at Oxford.

William Sellar. He preached a sermon in the Chapel on the death of Briggs, the Savilian Professor of Geometry, in 1630. He was Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East from 1623 to 1631, and was re-presented to it in the same year, after accepting and resigning some other preferment. He was afterwards Rector of Stow in Northamptonshire, from which he was expelled in 1648.

Griffin Hyggs, S.T.P. He obtained his theological degree at Leyden, and was incorporated in 1629. He was originally a Scholar of St. John's, and Anthony Wood has preserved his account of the 'Christmas Prince or Lord' appointed there, after much the same fashion as the Merton 'Rex fabarum.' He was Proctor in 1622, and in that year wrote a Latin poem on the death of Savile. He was chaplain to Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, and to Charles I. After holding other preferments, including the Rectory of Gamlingay, he was Dean of Lichfield, but was deprived of all his ecclesiastical emoluments on account of his fidelity to Charles I. He was a great benefactor of the College, having given it an endowment of £10 a year for the Library, £5 for a Hyggs 'Commemoration,' £20 for a Theological Reader, and £15 for an augmentation of the Postmasters' commons, besides leaving his entire 'Museum' to the Library.

Hugh Ramsden, S.T.B. He was Vicar of Halifax, and died in 1637.

1613 (7 elected).

John Gibbes. He resigned in 1617.

Humphrey Farrar. He was expelled in 1629, as Anthony Wood states, by Sir N. Brent, who 'had a spleen against him.'

James Marsh, S.T.P. After holding the Rectory of Gam-

lingay and other preferments, he became Chancellor and Archdeacon of Chichester, but, according to Astry, was 'sequestered by the House of Commons on July 12, 1643.' He died either in that year or in 1646.

William Fettiplace.

Henry Ainscombe. In 1619 he was solemnly warned not to be too familiar with the Bachelors, and to abstain from resorting to places 'of evil repute for the drinking of ale.'

William Nevil. He was Chancellor of Chichester, and died in 1640.

William Cox. He was presented to the Vicarage of Embleton in 1622, died there in 1657, and was succeeded by his son.

1615 (7 elected)[1].

John Feeld or **Feild.** Though elected, he was not admitted, because in the meantime his father had left him 'a portion.'

John Gouldsmith. He distinguished himself by writing copies of Latin verses on the deaths of Queen Anne (in 1618) and Sir H. Savile. He received £30 'pro communiis' in his year of grace (1622).

Richard Maycot. His admission was postponed, owing to his misconduct during the year of probation, and he seems to have been ultimately expelled.

Thomas Gall. Owing to some misconduct during his year of probation, his admission was postponed for a year. He was nominated to St. Peter's-in-the-East in 1631, but apparently never held it. He was living in Ireland in 1633 and 1634.

Richard Anion. 'Expulsus.'

John French. He succeeded his father as Registrar of the University in 1629, and his name constantly figures in the records of the Parliamentary Visitation, which he stoutly opposed. He succeeded Simonson in the lease of the Burmington tithes, and died on February 9, 1651, leaving the College £10 for the Library. He was buried in the Choir.

[1] These seven, though elected April 11, 1615, were not admitted till January 14, 1616. All can scarcely have been guilty of 'misconduct.'

Edward Carpenter. He was 'expelled by the Warden and Fellows.' He died in 1657.

1619 (7 elected).

John Doughty, S.T.P. He came up to Oxford at the age of thirteen, and, according to Anthony Wood, stood first among 'many prime scholars' who competed at this election in 1619. He was an eminent divine and preacher. In 1631 he was Proctor, and in 1633 became Rector of Lapworth. 'Retiring as a Loyalist to London,' says Wood, 'on the ill-success of the King's affairs, he for some time found relief in the house of Sir Nathaniel Brent, then living in Little Britain.' On the Restoration, in 1660, he became a Canon of Westminster. He died and was buried there in 1672.

Alexander Fisher. He was a man of learning and ability, but kept back, as Anthony Wood alleges, by a 'weak and timorous spirit.' He was specially versed in English history. He was Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East from 1636 to 1646, with the exception of an interval during which he was ousted by Archbishop Laud's orders. He also held the tithes of Burmington. On August 20, 1649, when the Parliamentary Visitors were sitting at Merton, £70 was voted to him, as compensation for his having been unjustly kept out of his Fellowship for two years (1639–41). He died at his own house in Holywell, being then Senior Fellow, in 1671, and was buried in the Chapel, 'near the altar.' He left the College £1100 for the internal decorations of the Choir. Anthony Wood says that about six months before his death he was taken suddenly with an apoplectic fit, 'but recovering, he set workmen to pave Merton College Chapel with black and white marble, at his owne charge.' This was completed by 1673, when 'service was translated from the Common Hall to the chappel new wainscoated and paved with marble.'

Thomas Heath, LL.D. He was Chancellor of Peterborough, but was ousted during the Civil War, went abroad, and became

a Roman Catholic. He settled at Ghent, and died there in 1680.

Laurence Hinton, S.T.P. He was Prebendary of Winchester, and died in 1658.

John Holywell. Having killed his brother-Fellow, George Petty, in a fit of madness, in 1630, he was declared no longer a Fellow, 'juxta statutum de homicidio,' but was allowed a pension of £20.

Edward Reynolds, S.T.P. He became Warden in 1660. [See above.]

John Earle, S.T.P. He was originally of Christ Church. Anthony Wood says of him that 'his younger years were adorned with oratory, poetry, and witty fancies, and his elder with quaint preaching and subtile disputes.' He was Proctor in 1631, on the resignation of Doughty, and, being Chaplain to Philip Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of Oxford, was presented by him to the living of Bishopstone in Wiltshire. In 1632 he became Rector of Gamlingay. He was also chaplain and tutor to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II. On the Restoration he was made Bishop of Worcester (1662), and translated to Salisbury (1663). He died at University College in 1665, and was buried on November 25, in Merton College Chapel, 'near the High Altar,' the funeral being accompanied from the Schools 'by an Herald at Arms, and the principal persons of the Court and University.' He was the author of a well-known poem, entitled '*Hortus Mertonensis*.' His monument is now in the south transept.

1622.

George Abbott. He was a nephew of Archbishop Abbott.

1624 (5 elected).

John Greaves. He was of Balliol College, a great scholar, and a most eminent mathematician. He was Senior Linacre Lecturer, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, and Gresham Professor of Geometry. He was condemned to expulsion by the

Parliamentary Committee on August 1, 1648, and by the Parliamentary Visitors on October 30, 1648. The main charge against him was that, during the King's occupation of Oxford, he ingratiated himself with the courtiers, and disclosed the existence of £400 in the Treasury, which was thereupon carried off for the King's use. On November 9 he was ejected from the University, and he died in London in 1652.

Edward Corbet, S.T.P. He was Proctor in 1638. During the Civil War, he attended the Westminster Conference as a Presbyterian divine, was one of the preachers appointed by Parliament to convert the Academical mind, and one of the Parliamentary Visitors. In 1647 he was created Public Orator, when Hammond was ejected, but almost immediately resigned that office, and refused the Canonry of Christ Church vacated by Hammond. He married Sir Nathaniel Brent's daughter, and became Rector of Haseley. He died there in 1657, and 'the College' attended his funeral.

Robert Wright. He died in 1626, and was buried in the Chapel.

Charles Gibbes. He is described as an eminent dialectician and preacher. He became Rector of Gamlingay in 1631, but 'having suffered much in the Civil War, and fearing worse, he resigned the living in 1647.' After keeping a school at Canterbury, he ultimately became a Canon of Westminster in 1662, and died in 1681. He left the College £200 to adorn the Chapel.

Richard Brown, LL.D. He was both a knight and a baronet, and is known as the father-in-law of John Evelyn. He was esquire of the bed-chamber to Charles I, and Clerk of Charles II's interior council. In 1640 he was sent on a mission to the Prince of Orange, and for nineteen years he filled the post of Resident Minister at the Court of France. He died at Sayes-Court, Deptford, in 1682-3. His was one of the names submitted to the Visitor, when Clayton was appointed Warden.

1625 (5 elected).

Hugh Cressey, afterwards known as Paulinus or Serenus de Cressey, and a notable character of this period. He preached a funeral sermon in the Chapel on Briggs' death in 1630. He was afterwards Chaplain to Strafford and Falkland during their respective Vice-royalties in Ireland. In 1642 he was made Canon of Windsor, but never seems to have enjoyed either this Canonry or the Deanery of Leighlin in Ireland, which he obtained about the same time. In 1646 he abjured Anglicanism before the Inquisition at Rome, and soon joined the Benedictine Order in the English College at Douay, being aided with a present of one hundred crowns, towards the expense of his journey, by Queen Henrietta Maria. He afterwards became Chaplain to Queen Catherine, and died at East Grinstead in 1674.

John Woodcocke. He was Vicar of Elham, but appears as ejected by the Parliamentary Visitors in 1650.

Edward Nevil. In April, 1629, he delivered an elegant discourse before the Ambassadors of France and the Netherlands, with a company of nobles, visiting the College. He was presented to the Rectory of Farleigh in 1637.

Ranulphus Domvyll. He was expelled by the Parliamentary Visitors in 1648.

William Barkley. He was brother of the first Lord Barkley de Stratton. He went abroad in 1630, and was afterwards sent on a mission to Virginia. In 1646 he was expelled by the Parliamentary Visitors, on the pretext of his being absent without leave. After the Restoration, he became Governor of Virginia, and held that post until 1676. He died in 1677.

1629 (6 elected).

Richard Nevill. He died in 1644, and was buried in the Chapel.

Edward Hinton, S.T.P. He had been a Postmaster. In 1639 he was presented by the College to the Vicarage of Maldon. In 1648 he was created S.T.B. by the Earl of Pem-

broke, as Chancellor, and in 1649 he received his Doctor's degree from the Parliamentary Visitors, being an avowed Presbyterian. At the close of the Civil War he became Rector of Islip, probably in the place of some dispossessed Royalist, and died there in 1678, when Anthony Wood records that 'our great bell rung out for Dr. Hinton, Rector of Islip.' His son, Edward Hinton, was born at Maldon, and became a Postmaster at Merton.

Francis Cheynell, S.T.P.[1] He was born at Oxford, and became a celebrated Presbyterian champion. He soon exhibited impatience of ecclesiastical authority, and in 1640, having given offence by a Latin sermon, apparently directed against the Arminian school, he was refused his grace for the degree of B.D. Anthony Wood describes him and John Wilkinson as 'eager and hot-headed furies, and accounted no better than madmen.' Having attended the Westminster Conference, he was one of the Parliamentary Visitors in 1647, and succeeded Dr. Bailey, who had been ejected, as President of St. John's. He also succeeded ejected Royalists in the Margaret Professorship of Divinity and the Rectory of Petworth, from which, however, he was himself ejected after the Restoration. He died in 1665.

William Wheare. He died in 1634, and was buried in the Chapel.

Richard Brent. He was ejected by the Parliamentary Visitors in January, 1650, and one Moseley nominated in his place, who, however, does not appear in the list of Fellows. He died in 1630.

Henry Jacob, M.B. He was made M.A. in 1628, by virtue of letters from the Chancellor, William Earl of Pembroke. Anthony Wood attributes his election at Merton in the following year to the influence of John Selden, Henry Briggs, and Peter Turner. 'But then,' continues Wood, 'he, having not so much Logick and Philosophy as to carry him through

[1] Anthony Wood states that he owed his election to the intercession of his mother, widow of Archbishop Abbot, and step-mother of Sir Nathaniel Brent.

the severe exercises of that Society, the Warden and Fellows tacitly assigned him Philological Lecturer. And, on Bishop Laud's succeeding Pembroke in the Chancellorship, a way was found out from Merton College Statutes to make him *Socius Grammaticalis*, that is, Reader of Philology to the Juniors; a place that had been disused for about a hundred years.' The College Register, in which the letter of Laud is preserved (dated May 18, 1636), substantially confirms this account, but adds that after his original election he retired to London on private law-business, and that nothing was heard of him for years. He had been educated in Holland, and, according to Anthony Wood, 'became the prodigy of his age for Philological and Oriental literature.' In 1641 he became Senior Theological Bedell, but was ejected from that office and his Fellowship in 1648. He died in 1652.

1630 (5 elected).

Richard Newman.

William Burton, S.T.P.

John Maplesden.

Nicholas Howson. He was ejected by the Visitors in 1649, but seems to have been reinstated. He died at his own house, in the parish of St. Aldate's, in 1653.

Francis Wright.

1633 (12 elected)[1].

Roger Brent. He was expelled by the Visitors, readmitted after the Restoration, and finally expelled as incorrigible in 1666.

William Owen, S.T.P. He was expelled by the Visitors in 1648. In 1660 he was Canon of St. David's, and represented that Chapter in the Convocation of 1661. He was also made Treasurer of St. David's Cathedral in 1660 by Royal mandat

[1] According to Anthony Wood, though all these twelve were elected and received into the College at once, they received no allowance until their admission, which in the case of the first six, was postponed until October 1634, and in the case of the last six, until October 1635.

which, however, was revoked in the year following. He died in 1680.

Francis Broad. He was Proctor in 1644.

George Clarke. He was Rector of Hurstmonceux, and died in 1680.

Edward Allen, S.T.B.

John Scriven. He was buried in the Chapel.

Edward Copley. It was as his Postmaster that Anthony Wood entered Merton College in 1647. In 1648 he was made Professor of Moral Philosophy in the place of an ejected Royalist. He died in 1649, and was buried in the Chapel.

Ralph Button. He came from Exeter College, and was recommended by Dr. Prideaux, the Rector, to Sir Nathaniel Brent. He was Proctor in 1648, and in the same year accepted from the Parliamentary Visitors both the Public Oratorship and the Canonry of Christ Church which Edward Corbet had declined. He was deprived of both in 1660 by the Royal Visitors. He also filled the office of Professor of Geometry in Gresham College, to which he was elected in 1643, though Anthony Wood observes that he was not worthy of it. This office he resigned when his attendance was required at Oxford in the capacity of Proctor, as well as of Delegate, or Assessor, to the Parliamentary Visitors. After his deprivation, he took pupils in his own house at Islington, where he also 'preached in conventicles,' and died there in 1680. Sir Joseph Jekyll is mentioned as having been one of his pupils.

John Priaulx, S.T.P. He came from Magdalen Hall, having been educated at the Southampton Grammar School. He afterwards became Canon and Archdeacon of Salisbury, where he was buried in 1674.

Robert Sayre. He was expelled by the Visitors in 1649. He died in 1662.

Christopher Fowle. He was expelled, as Kilner says, in '1642,' but the College Register shows that he was only suspended, and that on August 2, 1647, for having borne arms against

the Parliament. At all events, he was restored in 1660, and, dying in the same year, was buried in the Chapel.

George Lovejoy. He was elected 'while he was a scholar.' He was suspended, with Fowle, but not restored, 'because in the intervall he spake against King Charles I, and vindicated his death.'

1639 (4 elected).

John Lee. He was Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, but was ejected from his Fellowship and the University by a decree of the Visitors in 1648.

William Hill. He was first a student of Merton, and then a Postmaster. He was a good scholar and proficient in Natural Science, but married early, and kept a school with great success at Sutton Colfield in Warwickshire. He afterwards removed to Dublin, practised medicine, and died in 1667.

Daniel Whistler, M.D. He obtained his medical degree at Leyden, and was incorporated in 1647. He was Senior Linacre Lecturer, President of the College of Physicians, and Fellow of the newly-founded Royal Society. He died in 1684.

Thomas Jones, LL.D. He came from Oriel College. He died in Bread Street, or Wood Street, during the Great Plague of London in 1665.

1641 (4 elected)[1].

William Martin. He is described by Kilner as 'a Nonconformist.' He is perhaps the same as William Martin who died in 1665, and whose tombstone is under the tower in the outer Chapel. Another William Martin, who died in 1669, has a tombstone in the north transept.

Thomas Wood or **Woodd.** Though it was decided by the College in April 1643 that its finances would not justify the admission to actual Fellowships of the four elected in 1641,

[1] Peter Turner protested against this election, appealing to the Visitor, 'or, in case the Visitor's power be suspended, to the King's Majestie,' on the ground that it was against the statutes, and against the Visitors' Injunctions, as carried 'by the votes of such as have no right of voting in any Collegiate Act.'

yet in August 1643 letters were received from the King requiring the admission of Wood and Lydall. The College yielded, but under special conditions for the performance of their statutable exercises. Wood is said by Kilner to have been captain of a troop of horse in Charles I's army, and to have been killed in the fight at Copredy Bridge. But in a memorial presented by his brother to Charles II, and now (1885) in the possession of Mr. Basil Woodd, of Conyngham Hall, a different account of him is given:—'My brother Thomas went into the warres, when His Majesty of blessed memory came first to Oxford. He was Fellow of Merton Colledge, and had been taken prisoner after he was turned out of his fellowship; then he went into Flanders and came in again with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, where, at Preston Towns End, he saved his generall by the loss of his own life. He was then Captain-Lieutenant to Colonel Loader.'

Richard Lydall. He became Warden in 1693. [See above.]

William Kettelwell.

1648 (6 elected)[1].

Edward à Wood. He was a brother of the great antiquary, and came from Trinity College[2]. He was Proctor in 1655, died in office, and was buried in the Chapel.

Edmund Dickinson, M.D. He was the eldest son of William Dickinson, elected in 1607. He was an Eton Postmaster, elected in 1642, and was made Senior Linacre Lecturer soon after he obtained his medical degree. He practised as a physician in Oxford and the neighbourhood for twenty years, then removed to London, and, in 1684, became a Fellow of the College of Physicians. He was physician to both

[1] This election took place by permission of the Visitors. According to Anthony Wood, the candidates were 'severely examined.'

[2] The Antiquary's eldest brother, Thomas, not to be confounded with Thomas Wood mentioned above, on hearing, in 1642, that 'the armies were going to fight . . . left his gowne at the Town's end, ran to Edghill, did His Majestie good service, returned on horse-back well accountred (*sic*), and afterwards was made an officer in the King's army.'—Life of Anthony Wood.

Charles II and James II. He died in London in 1707 at the age of eighty-two.

Richard Franklyn. He was made Proctor in 1655, on the death of Edward Wood.

Joseph Hervey, LL.D. We learn from a paper of Anthony Wood, preserved in the Tanner MSS., that Hervey and Trevor were both Postmasters of Merton, having been (according to Kilner) students of Jesus College, Cambridge. Anthony Wood adds that they succeeded to Fellowships in the hope of obtaining preferment from the Visitors.

Richard Trevor, M.D.—'vir morum elegantiâ conspicuus.' He obtained his medical degree at Padua, and was incorporated at Oxford in 1661. He died in 1676[1].

Thomas Frank. He was the 'Bachelor-Fellow' accused by Anthony Wood of having informed against Greaves and French for Royalist intrigues, as well as against his own brother, Edward Wood, for over-hospitality.

1649 (10 elected)[2].

John Powel. He was originally of Caius College, Cambridge, and came from Pembroke College. He became Rector of Lapworth in 1666.

Peter Nicholls. He was educated at St. Alban Hall, and had been made Chaplain of the College in 1648 by the influence of Corbet. In 1638 he was presented to a living which had lapsed to the University from a 'delinquent estate.' He afterwards held the Vicarage of St. Peter's-in-the-East[3], and obtained a lease of the Burmington tithes in 1676. In the

[1] He is mentioned as holding a lease of the Burmington tithes.

[2] It appears from the College Register that all these ten Fellows were elected under the express mandate of the Visitors, Nicholls and Powel being admitted, as Masters, on December 22, 1649; Sterry, Maund, Hulley, Pavier, Hurst, and Willoughby, as Probationers, on January 1, 1650; and Cripps, as a Probationer, on January 5; Arnold, as a Master, on February 27. Sterry was promoted to be a Master-Fellow, by order of the Visitors in May, before his year of probation had expired.

[3] Anthony Wood states that, on May 4, 1666, he obtained leave to search documents in the Merton College Treasury, in the presence of Peter Nicholls. Nicholls was a strong opponent of Sir Thomas Clayton.

following year he died and was buried in St. Giles's parish, leaving the College £200 for panelling the Common Room and purchasing books for the Library.

John Arnold. He was M.B. of Leyden when he was nominated by the Visitors for election. He afterwards practised medicine at York.

Robert Cripps. He was elected Proctor in 1662, but never served in the office. He was afterwards Rector of Cuxham.

Nathaniel Sterry, S.T.B. He came from Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He is described as a learned man, and in 1674 became 'Dean and Rector' of Bocking in Essex.

Clinton Maund. Though of an Oxfordshire family, he was born in Ireland. He became Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East in 1659, but died in College of fever in 1660, and was buried in the Chapel.

Robert Hulley. He died in 1657. The Old Catalogue notes of him—*moritur in rure.*

Richard Pavier.

Henry Hurst. He came from Magdalen Hall. In 1660 he 'bade farewell to the College' and became a popular preacher in London of the Puritan school, being 'elected' Incumbent of St. Matthew, Friday Street, but ejected from it in 1662. He afterwards preached frequently in conventicles, and in 1675 became Chaplain to the Earl of Anglesey. In 1690 he was struck with apoplexy during a sermon at Covent Garden, died the next day, and was buried in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Charles Willoughby. He was M.D. of Padua, and incorporated at Oxford in 1664. In 1663 he presented to the Library the 'herbarium vivum,' or 'Hortus Siccus,' still to be seen there—being a collection of botanical specimens made at Padua. He was a native of the county of Cork, and died at Dublin in 1695.

1651 (4 elected)[1].

William Master, S.T.B. He came from Christ Church, and was elected by order of the Parliamentary Visitors. He was

[1] These elections took place at various dates in 1651.

a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and died in 1684. He left the University £5 annually for two sermons to be preached on Shrove Tuesday and the last Sunday in June, respectively.

Robert Whitehall. He also came from Christ Church, whence he was compelled to retire, having refused submission to the Visitors; after which, however, he thought better of it, and succeeded in obtaining admission at Merton. Anthony Wood styles him 'the time-serving pot-poet of Christ Church.' He was 'Terræ Filius' in 1655, when he derided the Puritan discipline under which the University was then governed. Being already M.A., he was created M.B. in 1657, by virtue of letters from Richard Cromwell, then Chancellor. Hearne mentions him as the author of two poems; one called 'Urania, or a Description of the painting of the top of the Theatre at Oxon' (1669), and the other 'The English Rechabite, or a Defyance to Bacchus and all his Works.' In 1677 he received a lease of the Burmington tithes. He died and was buried in the College in 1685[1]. His nephew, of the same name, was a Postmaster in 1679, being appointed through his influence.

Henry Eyre. He was Recorder of Salisbury, and was 'chose Parliament-man for Salisbury for the healing Parliament of 1660.' He died about 1680.

Edward Roode, S.T.P. of Cambridge. He was admitted in 1649 as an Eton Postmaster by the Parliamentary Visitors, being, according to Anthony Wood, 'a bold and impudent person.' In 1656 he was presented by the College to one moiety of the Rectory of Gamlingay, having been already presented to the Vicarage by Cromwell. Upon the Restoration this presentation by the College was not allowed, and he was again presented to one moiety. In 1677 he received a lease of the other moiety for twenty-one years. He died at Cambridge in 1689.

[1] A tombstone in the north transept, with the initials R.W., and the date 1686, may perhaps be his.

1658 (7 elected).

George Roberts. He was Proctor in 1667, and became Vicar of Maldon in 1675. He died in 1685.

Edward Jones, M.D. He resigned in 1678. He practised as a physician at Wimborne and in London.

James Workman. He died and was buried in the Chapel in 1677.

Richard Franklyn. He is said by Astry to have 'left the College' in 1663. Kilner has the following note upon him:—'Mr. Franklin got the Rectory of Bromham in the space of an ejected—examined by Oliver Cromwell and got it—built an apartment there with 2 or 3 rooms like his own in the College—turned out in 1660—was afterwards a curate.'

Robert Huntington, S.T.P. He signed the entry (dated January 25, 1666) which concludes the Register of Convocation from 1648 to 1666, and which censures and condemns all the proceedings of that body under the Commonwealth. In 1682 he is mentioned by Prideaux as his only possible competitor for the Hebrew Professorship. When he received his Doctor's degree in 1683, he had but lately returned from Aleppo, where he was chaplain of the British factory for eleven years. In the same year he became Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1692 was nominated Bishop of Lismore, in the place of Dr. Sheridan, a Nonjuror. This promotion he declined, and apparently resigned the Provostship about the same time. At all events, he came to England, married in 1692, and 'then or before became Rector of Stanford Rivers in Essex.' In 1701 he was made Bishop of Raphoe, but died in Dublin a few days after his consecration, and was buried in Trinity College. He was a benefactor of the Merton and Bodleian Libraries, to the former of which he sent valuable Oriental books from the East in 1673.

Edward Turnour, S.T.B. He was Rector of Stapleford Tawney in Essex, and caused a statement of his own unworthiness to be inscribed upon his tombstone.

John Powel. He died in 1692, on the North Sea, near the Doggersands.

1663 (7 elected).

Richard Hine. He died in 1695, Rector of Bodington in Northumberland, and it is stated in a loose paper of Anthony Wood that 'he left by will the perpetual advowson of Bodington to Merton College, but that in the day of his death he was denied to alter his will as to that which he did.' He was a constant opponent of Warden Clayton, and the subject of a long correspondence with the Visitor.

John Bateman, M.D. He was an eminent Physician, being physician to Charles II, and for many years President of the Royal College of Physicians. In 1685 he claimed a lease of the Burmington tithes, which was refused on the ground that he had received a liberal dispensation from residence, and other favours, from the College. A long dispute ensued, in which his partisans were opposed by a majority of Fellows, and the question was ultimately decided by Archbishop Sancroft adversely to Bateman's claim. His name was twice submitted to the Visitor for the Wardenship, in 1693, and in 1704, when Hearne strongly blames the Visitor for not preferring him to Marten. During his life he founded a Readership in Geometry and Algebra, which Kilner himself held for nine years, receiving a salary from him. He died in 1728, having retained his Fellowship above sixty-five years.

John Stephens. He was M.D. of Leyden, and resigned his Fellowship on marriage in 1674. In 1673 he was fined £12 for neglecting his 'Variations.'

Nathaniel Wight. He was Proctor in 1677, and gained much reputation in that office. He was a constant opponent of Sir Thomas Clayton. Anthony Wood states that, in 1677, when he was a candidate for 'the Rhetorick Lecture' at Merton, against 'Mr. Workman, the Warden's favourite,' he (Anthony Wood) voted for him, and was thereupon denounced by the Warden (Clayton) as 'a disturber of the peace of the College.' He died in the College in 1682, aged forty-one, and

was buried near the south door of the Chapel, where his monument still remains.

Gowen Knight. He was Vicar of Ponteland in 1675.

John Norris. He died in 1668, and was buried in the Chapel.

Thomas Alvey, M.D. He had been a Postmaster. He was a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, in which he filled the office of 'censor,' and elector.

1672 (4 elected).

William Bernard, S.T.P. He was among the many Fellows engaged in hostile relations with the Warden, Sir Thomas Clayton. He died, Vicar of Maldon, in 1714.

William D'Obrey or **Dobery.** He died in 1676, much lamented, and was buried in the Chapel.

John Massey. He was the son of what Anthony Wood calls 'a phlegmatic Nonconformist,' and came from University College. In 1684 he was Senior Proctor. Under James II he became a Roman Catholic, and was made Dean of Christ Church in 1686. On James II's abdication, he retired to Paris, where he died.

Thomas Milbourne. He died in 1676, leaving the College £100.

1676 (8 elected).

John Conant, LL.D. He was son of Dr. Conant, the eminent Rector of Exeter College, and left memoirs of his father. According to Kilner, in 1685, 'on the wrong pretension of Senior or Vice-Warden,' he obtained a lease of the Burmington tithes. He settled in London and became a successful advocate at Doctors' Commons, but was compelled by delicate health to seek a country-retreat at Kidlington, where he died. He was one of those presented for the Wardenship with Dr. Lydall.

William Cardonnel. He was long on bad terms with the Warden, Sir Thomas Clayton, and ultimately committed

suicide in his own rooms in 1681. He was buried 'in aulâ vestiarii,' where his skeleton was discovered about 1870.

John Edwards. He was presented to Lapworth in 1688, but resigned that Rectory in 1689. In 1693 he became Rector of Cuxham, and died there in 1717.

Robert Jarman.

Thomas Prince.

Edward Sclater. He became Rector of Gamlingay in 1684, and was made Vicar in 1687. He died and was buried there in 1710.

William Coleby. He died in the College, in 1687.

Charles Wroughton. He was Rector of Codford in Wiltshire.

1679 (5 elected).

William Coward, M.D. He had been a Scholar of Wadham. He afterwards practised medicine at Northampton and London. Anthony Wood mentions that when he came from Northampton to claim his vote at the election of a Warden after Clayton's death, he was 'suspended of his vote' by the College, and thereupon lodged an appeal.

Thomas Lane, LL.D. He had been a B.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, and was incorporated at Oxford, as a member of Christ Church. His election was the subject of a wearisome dispute between the majority of the College and the Warden (Clayton), who had refused his consent to Lane's election, and claimed an absolute veto. This point was ultimately decided in Lane's favour. We learn from an entry in the College Register that at the beginning of 1688, when he was Bursar, he left the College, with the intention of travelling, without rendering his account, and carrying with him a considerable sum belonging to the College. The Sub-Warden, however, followed him, and seems to have recovered the money. He was with James II at the battle of the Boyne, after which, according to Anthony Wood, 'he returned to his College, and esteemed that place a comfortable harbour, of which before, by too much ease and

plenty, he was weary and sick.' He was afterwards a distinguished advocate at Doctors' Commons, and is said to have been also an excellent philologist.

Strange Southby. He was expelled after his year of probation as quarrelsome, idle, and of doubtful character. He appealed to the Visitor, and a long correspondence, preserved in the Tanner MSS., took place on the issue raised by his appeal. In this case, the Warden and Fellows were practically unanimous, maintaining that admission to an actual Fellowship involved the same responsibility as the original election, and even those who had voted for his original election declined to support his admission.

Stephen Welsted. He is said to have written a poem on the death of Charles II.

Francis Browne, S.T.B. He was Proctor in 1690, when he is stated to have borrowed £50 from the College. In 1685 he went abroad with two sons of the Earl of Aylesbury, returning in 1687. He gave the College books for the use of the Chapel. He died and was buried in the College.

1680.

Edmund Marten. He became Warden in 1704. [See above.]

1684 (6 elected).

George Fellow. He wrote a copy of hexameter verses on the death of Charles II. He died in 1688.

Charles King, M.D. In the Tanner collection of MSS. we find an undated petition signed by the Warden of Merton, Sir Thomas Clayton, and sixteen Fellows, on behalf of the whole body, invoking the protection of the Visitor (Archbishop Sancroft) against a Royal mandate calling upon them to admit Charles King to a Fellowship. We must assume that the Visitor either declined to intervene, or intervened without effect. King died in the College in 1715, and was buried in the Chapel.

Edward Welchman. He came from St. Mary Hall. He

became Rector of Lapworth in 1689, being also Prebendary of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Cardigan. In 1736 he became Rector of Solihull, and held that benefice, with Lapworth, until his death in 1739.

William Nichols, S.T.P. He was of St. Paul's School, and came from Wadham College. He was Rector of Selsey and Prebendary of Chichester, as well as author of a learned Defence of the Church of England. He died near Bath in 1711.

John Whitfield. He published a Selection of English poems, including some of his own. He died young at Oxford, in 1694, and was buried in the Chapel, where his monument is to be seen in the south transept.

Martin Hartopp, M.B. He was of Cambridge University. He studied Medicine in Italy, returned home in 1695, and practised at Leicester, where he died, leaving the College £20.

1688 (7 elected).

John Holland, S.T.P. He became Warden in 1709. [See above.]

Thomas Seymor or **Seymore, M.D.** He came from Wadham College. He died in the College in 1696, leaving the College £40, and was buried at St. Ebbe's.

John Wright. He had been a Postmaster. He was a Canon and Treasurer of Chichester, where he died and was buried in 1719.

John Tisser. He also had been a Postmaster. He was for nine years Chaplain at Smyrna, and resigned his Fellowship in 1719, on accepting the Rectory of Kedington in Suffolk, where he died, above eighty years of age. Mr. 'Tisset,' of Merton, doubtless the same, was nominated by the Delegates of Convocation as one of the Masters with Procuratorial authority on the occasion of William III's visit.

John Winter. He came from Lincoln College, and is described by Astry as 'vir summæ spei.'

Thomas West, M.D. He came from Exeter College. Kilner

thinks he may have been the same Thomas West who married a daughter of Warden Lydall, and was buried in the Chapel.

William Sherwin. He came from St. Edmund Hall. He became a Canon of Chichester in 1703.

1693 (4 elected)[1].

Henry Stephens. He came from Corpus Christi College. He was Proctor in 1707. Soon afterwards he became a Chaplain in Portugal, but in 1714 was presented to the Vicarage of Maldon. After holding prebends at St. David's and Lichfield, he became Canon of Winchester in 1733, and died at Maldon in 1739. He wrote a poem about Robert Boyle's experiments on the steam-engine.

Ralph Frank or **Franke.** He was Rector of Wood-Eaton, and became sinecure Rector of Gamlingay in 1710.

Richard Parker. He was a philologist of some reputation. In 1701 he was presented by the College to the Vicarage of Dodington, with a proviso that he should receive from the Bursar £20 annually and a share of the fines. In 1710 he became Vicar of Ponteland, but resigned that with Dodington in 1711, when he accepted the Vicarage of Embleton, where he died in 1726. In 1712, Henry Newton, formerly of Merton, and then Chancellor of the Diocese of London, dedicated a book to the College, and Parker was deputed by the College to compose an epistle, thanking the author, which is preserved by Astry, as a specimen of elegant Latinity.

Thomas Byrom, M.D. According to Astry, he died, on a journey, at Worcester, and was buried there. According to an entry in the Wilson Catalogue by a later hand, he died in the College.

1694 (2 elected).

George Jeffs. He became Vicar of Dodington in 1697, and Rector of Ibstone in 1708. He died in the College.

[1] There is an entry in the Register, under date April 15, 1692, showing that Henry Pink, M.A., of Balliol, was allowed to 'transfer himself' from that College to Merton, and to sit at the Masters' table, on paying £5 to the Library.

John Heyman. He was Vicar of Holywell and Bursar. He died in the College in the year 1712, as Hearne states, from the effects of lifting a bag of silver, 'of six hundred pounds,' and left books to the Library.

In 1700, when six were elected, the name of Francis Astry, the compiler of the Catalogue afterwards revised by Kilner, stood at the head of the list. Another, Joseph Abel, obtained a considerable reputation as a scholar. He is mentioned by Hearne as having bought some curious books on the antiquities of Oxford, formerly belonging to Warden Lydall, and as having 'taken most of the inscriptions in Merton Chapell.'

APPENDIX A.

I. Documents relating to the Site of Merton College and Gardens[1].

1265–6 (Epiphany). Grant by Abbot and Abbey of Reading to Walter de Merton, his heirs and assigns, of the plot of ground belonging to the Abbey west of St. John's Church (afterwards called Merton Grove); which plot had been occupied by houses, but was then clear; together with the advowson of St. John's, pertaining to this tenement[2]. A quit-rent of 3*s.* a year, payable at Michaelmas, was reserved to the Abbey[3].

1266 (August 30). Royal Charter '*de licentiâ claudendi placeam.*' This Charter recites the foregoing grant from the Abbey of Reading, and defines the land so granted as extending southward up to the City Wall. It also recites the intention of Walter de Merton to found a house for the benefit of poor scholars perpetually living in the town of Oxford. It proceeds to empower him to enclose this space, on either side (eastward and westward), as far as the City Wall on the south, and 'the houses adjoining' on the north.

[1] The earlier documents here mentioned are calendared in the 'Liber Ruber,' or index of title-deeds contained in the muniment-room in 1288. Full copies of the more important are set out by Kilner, in a MS. volume, in the possession of the College, and a list of many of these, with their indorsements, is given in Kilner's privately printed 'Pythagoras' School,' pp. 66 sqq.

The following Appendix consists, for the most part, of abstracts of the more important documents transcribed by Kilner, with some illustrative notes from Anthony Wood and other sources. It is further illustrated by the rough plan at the end of this volume, showing, approximately, the distribution of buildings on the site of Merton College and its environs, at the close of the fifteenth century.

[2] Kilner states that the College came into the full and corporal possession of St. John's on the death of its then incumbent, William de Chetyndon, in 1292.

[3] The College accounts of 1376-7 show that this quit-rent was then paid.

It provides, however, for the construction of a postern gate under the wall, both eastward and westward, so as to give access thereto for purposes of defence in time of war, as well as for the convenience of persons holding contiguous tenements.

Anthony Wood states that one of these posterns opened into the meadow, and the other 'westward of the College, and through or near the place where the Bachelors' garden of Corpus was; that they might have a passage to St. Frideswide's, the mother-Church.' He speaks of three arches in the wall as yet visible in his own time, and two more as filled up with earth; adding that 'most part of the wall on this side the City was formerly built on arches,' and that in ancient times 'people rowed up to Merton buttery to refresh themselves'—as he was informed by old men, who said they had been told it by others who had actually done so.

1266 (March 1). Sale by Jacob, son of Mosey, the Jew, and Henna, his wife, 'to the scholars and brothers of the *Domus Scholarium de Merton*,' of 'houses' in the parish of St. John's, formerly belonging to John Halegod, and situated between a tenement held by Albred Hereprad from the Prior of St. Frideswide, on the west, and another tenement formerly belonging to Roger Urlewyne, on the east. The price is stated to have been thirty marks, received from Walter de Merton, and a quit-rent of four farthings annually is reserved. The grant is further described as a demise made in full court of the town of Oxford. The instrument goes on to provide that Anthony Bek and Thomas his brother shall be allowed to occupy the said houses for three years from the next Michaelmas, in consideration of one hundred shillings paid in open Court to 'the Warden of the said Brethren and Scholars.'

A note by Kilner suggests reasons for supposing that, in addition to the purchase-money specified, a debt upon these houses may have been discharged by the College.

1266 (?). An undated grant from the Prior of St. Frideswide to the '*Domus Scholarium de Merton* . . founded at Maldon . .

for the perpetual support of scholars living in the Schools' of a house formerly held by 'Henry Herprat' at the east end of St. John's Church, 'between the said Church and their house formerly belonging to Jacob the Jew.' The only consideration mentioned is an 'obolus' to be offered annually at the shrine of St. Frideswide. According to Anthony Wood, this house purchased from St. Frideswide's stood on the site of the College Gate and the College-building west thereof.

From the reference to the purchase of the house from Jacob the Jew we may infer that this instrument, though assigned by Bishop Hobhouse to 1265, must be as late as 1266. It is attested by Adam Feteplace, as Mayor, but his Mayoralty extended from 1253 to 1260—and again, apparently, from 1265 to 1267.

1268. An undated grant from Robert de Flixthorp to the '*Domus Scholarium de Merton*,' of his house in St. John's parish, adjoining on the east side that just purchased by the College from Jacob the Jew, together with the adjacent plot of land, for a price of thirty-two silver marks.

The date of this grant is fixed by the reference to it in another instrument, dated November 25, 1268, whereby Robert de Flixthorp's attorney and proctor, John de Raggenhall, records that he, on Flixthorp's behalf, has sold Flixthorp's 'houses' to the College, and delivered to it full seisin thereof. The houses are described as 'to be held of the heirs of Christina Sewyse,' and this instrument proceeds to enumerate five (or seven) title-deeds which Raggenhall has handed over to the College, to be returned, however, as soon as the College shall receive from Robert Flixthorp 'a deed concerning the feoffment of the said houses.'

These title-deeds, transcribed by Kilner, are as follows:—

1–2. Grant and conveyance by Johanna, daughter of Roger Herlewyne, and widow of Richard Gussel, to her sister Christiana, widow of John Sewy, of the land formerly belonging to Roger Herlewyne, between the land of John Halegod and the land of the Prioress of Littlemore.

3–4. Release by Alicia, widow of Roger Herlewyne, of her right over the land aforesaid, to her daughter Christina Sewy, on condition of her receiving food and clothing for the rest of her life.

5. Similar release of his right over the same premises by Ralph, son of Richard Peckewefer.

6. Similar release of her right over the same premises by Petronilla, daughter of William de Oseney, and of Juliana, daughter of Roger Herlewyne.

7. Conveyance by Christina Sewy to Robert de Flixthorpe of her entire right over the said premises, at a nominal rent, for the sum of thirty-four marks[1].

The land here mentioned as belonging to the Prioress of Littlemore was the site of Nun's Hall, afterwards absorbed into St. Alban Hall, and, according to Anthony Wood, included the space 'where our old Hall and part of the Warden's lodgings now standeth.' Kilner observes that the date of Christina Sewy's conveyance to John de Flixthorp is fixed by the names of the witnesses as 1252.

1267 (September). Royal charter, granted by Henry III, with the consent of the Warden and brethren of St. John's Hospital, now Magdalen College, empowering 'the Warden and Scholars of the *Domus Scholarium de Merton*' to bring a canal from some point above St. Cross Chapel (now Holywell Church) to the College 'for the cleansing of their court-yard.' The course of this canal is clearly laid down in the charter. It is to pass, either above or under ground, through the 'area' of the Chapel and the court-yard of the Hospital, now Magdalen College; to cross the great road transversely outside the East Gate; and to run southward towards a barton of St. Frideswide (at the corner of Rose Lane), whence it is to skirt the City Wall, to enter the College premises through a gutter, and to be carried out

[1] The 'Liber Ruber' also contains abstracts of two memorandums, the one showing that Christina Sewy, as the only surviving child of Roger and Alicia Herlewyne, inherited the land which she proposed to sell; and the other enumerating her children.

by another gutter into the ditch leading towards St. Frideswide's[1]. By the same charter, the College is further empowered to bring an aqueduct, or canals, from the City ditch itself, north or south of the East Gate, into its own courtyard, so long as no damage shall accrue to the City thereby.

1266 (September 7). Royal charter of Henry III giving the College, then settled at Maldon, the advowson of St. Peter's-in-the-East for impropriation, with all the chapels appertaining to it,—one of which was that of St. Cross, now Holywell Church[2].

This charter was confirmed by Edward I in 1300. It is transcribed by Kilner, who notes that, in 1279, Bogo de Clare was Rector of St. Peter's-in-the-East, and that the College came into full and corporal possession of St. Peter's on his death in 1294.

1266 (September 13). Confirmation by the Bishop of Lincoln, with the assent of the Chapter, of the charter and grant vesting in the College the advowsons of St. Peter's-in-the-East and St. John's, respectively.

This confirmation was accompanied or followed by several subsidiary documents.

The manor, or 'Liberty,' of Holywell was a constant subject of dispute between the College and the citizens of Oxford, and fills a large space in the MSS. transcribed by

[1] Bishop Hobhouse supposes the cut, if completed, to have been that branch of the Cherwell which begins at 'Parson's Pleasure' and runs by Holywell Mill 'under Magdalen College to the western end of Magdalen Bridge.' After serving the hospital of St. John 'in emundationem curiæ suæ,' he supposes it to have 'turned towards the north-east corner of Merton Gardens, and passed through the City Wall, where there is still an underground arch, and so to the College.' This scarcely accords with the reference to the barton in Rose Lane.

[2] A moiety of Holywell Mill, with the adjoining meadow and fishery, was granted to the College, about the same time, by the Abbey of Oseney. The fishery included a watercourse or fish-stew in the meadows, and another stew ('vivarium') was afterwards made in the garden of the manor-house. Bishop Hobhouse cites a royal precept of 5th Edward I 'in majore Libro Rubro Civ. Oxon.' commanding that a moiety (? the same moiety) of the Holywell Mill shall be made over to three Fellows of Merton, 'quod nisi feceritis, Vice-Comes Oxon. faciet.' The second moiety seems to have been purchased for £10 in 1331–2, as we learn from an entry in the College accounts.

Kilner. In 1383, the Mayor, on behalf of the City, pledged himself not to interfere with the franchises of Merton in Holywell, which pledge was afterwards cancelled, and more than one lawsuit took place between the City and the College. In the first year of Richard II the College established its right by a lawsuit at Westminster, in the course of which it was shown that the manor had originally come to the College through Bogo de Clare, Rector of St. Peter's, who not only claimed but had actually exercised *la haute justice* there by causing a thief named Bensington to be hanged on his own gallows by his own bailiffs. It was also shown that from time immemorial the manor, with the chapel of St. Cross and of Wolvercote, had belonged to the parsons of the Church of St. Peter's, which Church had been vested in Merton by Royal grant; and that, moreover, the precise limits of the manorial jurisdiction had been settled by arbitration in the reign of Edward II. Litigation, however, was often renewed, and on May 15, 1667, 'upon ill management of the cause on the Mertonian side,' the City obtained a judgment in its favour on certain points of disputed jurisdiction. At last, however, in July, 1667, the rights of the College were confirmed and finally established by another judicial decision.

A bundle of Rolls entitled 'Holywell,' still preserved in the College Treasury, contains many curious particulars about this manor. The land seems to have been cultivated under a bailiff, sometimes called '*serviens*,' and occasionally controlled by one of the Fellows. The accounts give a tolerably complete picture of the mode in which the land was farmed, the seed sown, the harvesting, the cost of labour, the amount of stock, and the balance of profit over loss, which at the end of the thirteenth century appears to have varied from £4 4*s*. to about £20. During the reign of Edward I, a new grange, or farmstead, was built in addition to the manor-house, or court-house, sometimes called the Aula de Merton, and the centre of manorial jurisdiction, which still included the right of capital punishment. Professor Rogers has extracted from

the Holywell Court Rolls of 1337 a record of a trial and sentence of death for theft, with a marginal note showing that the sentence was executed. Anthony Wood declares that he had seen the very spot on which Merton College had the privilege of hanging, drawing, and quartering. The Holywell Rolls also show payments made to the Coroner for the burial of two prisoners who died in prison, for the maintenance of four prisoners in prison, for beer supplied to him when he was present at the abjuration of a thief, and for the wages of three men guarding a fugitive for three days. Professor Rogers also finds that the right of proving wills was exercised in the manor court of Holywell, and gives instances of the miscellaneous powers which it exercised in checking breaches of the peace, confiscating the goods of fugitives, impounding waifs and strays, and so forth.

A curious proceeding is recorded in Anstey's Munimenta Academica, vol. i. pp. 113–7, which probably had some bearing upon the rights of Merton in Holywell, where the pillory and stocks appear to have been situated. The Chancellor of the University, William de Alburwyke, summoned the Mayor before him and excommunicated him for having removed the pillory from its ancient and customary place, contrary to an inhibition already issued. The Mayor appealed to 'the Regents,' and the Warden of Merton took an active part on the hearing of the appeal before the Commissary (Richard de Kamshale of Merton) in St. Mary's Church. The result was that, after the Mayor had received absolution, the University and City authorities conjointly fixed on a new spot for the pillory, which, after all, was only six feet nearer the City Gate than the Mayor had placed it.

1317. Charter of Edward II, granting the College (notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain) a vacant space east of the College-grounds, seventeen *perticatæ* in length and three *perticatæ* in breadth, as well as another vacant space west of the College-grounds nine *perticatæ* in length and five *perticatæ* in breadth at the west end, but thirteen feet in

breadth at the east end[1]. The charter proceeds to sanction the enclosure of this area, 'notwithstanding its contiguity to the City Wall,' provided always that 'the said Warden and Fellows or their successors shall not dig or plant trees or build houses in those plots near the said wall, nor do anything else whereby the said wall may be in anyway weakened or injured, and that between the said plots and the City Wall they shall make doors of a proper size and sufficient, in the opinion of the Mayor and bailiffs, through which the townspeople may freely enter and pass out to supervise, and when necessary, to repair the wall, and that whenever it may be necessary (which Heaven forbid) to fortify the City in prospect of any disturbance or other such cause, the keys shall remain in the custody of the Mayor and bailiffs, so long as the occasion may require.'

'By this,' says Anthony Wood, 'it evidently appears that the back quadrangle was not then standing or built.' He adds that 'by this grant they got most part of the Grove, and all the ground laying under the Town wall[2].'

1320–1 (March). Licence from Edward II, enabling John Greyville, Adam de Lyndestede, and Walter de Horkestowe, notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain, to grant to Merton College a plot on the south of the College 'area,' along the City Wall, measuring twenty *perticatæ* in length, and seven in breadth at the west end, but five only at the east end.

1321. Grant from 'Greynville,' 'Lenstede,' and 'Horkstow' (named in the foregoing licence) to Merton College of the whole plot 'in the parish of St. Edward,' adjoining the College-grounds, between tenements belonging to St. Frideswide on the north and College-grounds on the south, near the City Wall, and 'extending itself towards the cemetery of St. Frideswide at its eastern end.'

[1] Bishop Hobhouse cites a Patent Roll of March 20, 1318, recording this donation.

[2] Bishop Hobhouse refers to a Patent Roll of November 5, 1317, containing a licence from Edward II to Richard Hunsingore, enabling him to grant four messuages and a shop in Oxford to the College.

The plot mentioned in this grant and the foregoing licence was identified by Anthony Wood with the Merton 'Bachelors' Garden,' as it was afterwards called, which had already become the Garden of Corpus Christi College in Anthony Wood's time, and continues to be so in our own.

Bishop Hobhouse believes that, even so far back as 1267, the Founder 'was possessor of a tract reaching from the Church of St. John up to the City Wall on the east, and bounded by the same on the south; of the greater part, in fact, of what forms the College gardens,' these acquisitions being 'completed by a further grant from Edward II, March 20, 1309.'

1331 (April 29). Conveyance from John de Abyndon, Simon de Yftele (Yfley), and William de Harinton (Fellows of Merton) to Merton College of two messuages, with a cottage adjacent, situated in the parish of St. John's, between a tenement belonging to Baillolhalle (Balliol), called Hert Hall or Herthead Hall, on the west, and a tenement of the Abbess of Godstowe, called Elme Hall, on the east. This plot had been obtained by the three Fellows above named by previous deeds in the possession of the College, to which it was conveyed by virtue of a Royal licence[1].

According to Peshall, Hert Hall stood next to Nun Hall on the east thereof, occupying the eastern part of the site afterwards occupied by St. Alban Hall. It had been purchased by the first Master of Balliol College, and came into the possession of that College in the reign of Edward II. Peshall says that

[1] It is hardly possible to identify the exact sites of all the Halls annexed by Merton College. In a College account of 1361 there is an entry recording a payment 'for pulling down St. Stephen's Hall, with carriage (of materials).' The only St. Stephen's Hall mentioned by Peshall was near the north front of Exeter College.

Another Hall, sometimes mentioned in the College accounts, is Bull Hall, or Bole Hall, in St. Aldate's, apparently standing at the entrance of Peny Verding, or Pembroke, Street. This had originally been the house of a Jew, had escheated to the Crown, and had been granted to Merton College, which often supplied its Principals. In the accounts of 1362–3 there is an entry of 40*s.* received for the rent of Bole Hall, and similar entries occur in the accounts of 1366–7, which also mention 'shops near Bole Hall.'

'it was ruinated and converted into a garden before 1424,' when the site was probably thrown into St. Alban Hall by Merton College, which long continued to pay a quit-rent for it to Balliol College.

The messuages standing next to Hert Hall, on the east thereof, and comprised in this conveyance of 1331, occupied the site of Lomb Hall, as it was afterwards called, or the north-western corner of the present College garden. Elme Hall, here mentioned as standing east of these messuages, had been given to the Nunnery of Godstow 'about 18 Edward III,' according to Peshall, and now forms part of the College garden, long distinguished (from the Bachelors') as 'the Masters' Garden.'

Next to Elme Hall, says Peshall, 'were the Houses of Great and Little Bileby,' and '. . . adjoining to them Runsive Hall, or, as it is elsewhere, Domus Runceval. . . . This Hall, with the four former in St. John's Parish, viz. Great and Little Bileby, Elmen Hall, and Lomb Hall, sometime standing between Hert Hall, before mentioned, and the end of St. John Baptist Street, were all ruinated before the year 1424[1], as appears from the aforesaid Description; wherein it is manifest that the ground whereon they stood was then divided into two garden grounds, one belonging to Merton College, the other eastward under the City Wall, to St. Frid, which since was joined to the former in one, as it now remaineth[2].'

1331. Conveyance from John de Abendon, Simon de Yftele, and William de Harington (who had acquired it as intermediaries), of Gotyr, or Gutter, Hall to the College.

This Hall stood over the common sewer, at the west end of the chapel, opposite Grope Lane, now Grove Street, and is

[1] In this year a survey of the parish was made, 'upon rebuilding the Collegiate Church of St. John Baptist de Merton.'

[2] The survey describes the Merton Garden as extending up to the City Wall southward, the St. Frideswide Garden as extending up to the City Wall eastward. In the accounts of the College 'procurator' for 1367–8 there is an entry of payments for making a wall 'towards the grounds of the Prioress of Frideswide and the Hall of the Prioress of Littlemore.'

described in the conveyance as lying between land belonging to the College and land belonging to St. Frideswide's. There is, however, an entry of repairs to 'Goterhalle' in the College accounts of 1329. There is also an entry in those of 1331–2: 'Wine bought for the burgesses coming to (give) seisin of Goterhall.'

Corner Hall, or Aula Angularis, so called from its situation, opposite to Oriel, and at the corner of St. John Baptist's Street, seems to have come into the possession of the College in the reign of Edward III[1], but, as no Royal licence had been obtained, to have reverted to the Crown. The College obtained a long lease of it, in or about 1426[2], and afterwards recovered the fee-simple, at some date which Kilner failed to discover.

1388. Conveyance from John Turk and John de Buckyngham to the College, of Christopher Hall and Nevyll's Inn, with their gardens. These Halls had belonged in the reign of Edward III to Richard de Melton, Rector of St. Ebbe's, but had been sold by him to four Fellows of the College, the last of whom (Richard de Medmenham) sold them to five Masters, including John Turk and John de Buckyngham.

According to Peshall, Nevyll's Inn was situated near the south-west corner of Corpus Christi College, in Scydiard Street, which ran from Oriel towards St. Frideswide's between the present sites of Corpus Christi College and Christ Church, and Christopher Hall was 'next to Merton College ball-court.'

1418 (April 4). Licence from Henry V, dated from Bayeux, purporting to be granted at the instance of Thomas Rodebourn, 'dilecti clerici nostri,' and empowering the College to erect an embattled tower over its northern gate. This seems to have been one of eight such towers in Oxford.

1515. Indenture between the College and Bishop Fox, whereby the College covenanted to convey to the Bishop and

[1] In a College account of 1364–5 there is an entry of 20*s.* received for the rent of Corner Hall. Similar entries occur afterwards.

[2] Under the same lease Merton College acquired Worme Hall in Grope Lane.

his heirs 'a messuage or a tenement nowe decayed with a garden thereto belonging called Corner Hall, and another messuage or tenement nowe decayed with a garden thereto belonging called Nevyll's Inne, and another garden called Bachelors' Garden . . . upon the which grounde . . . the said Bishop intendeth and proposeth by the grace of God to byld and edifie a College that shall be called Corpus Christi College.' The consideration for this purchase was to be the annual rent-charge of £4 6*s.* 8*d.*, payable out of the Rectory of Witney. This perpetual rent, having been judicially settled by the Court of King's Bench, was recovered by Merton College in the year 1518, from Mr. Grey, their Rector of Witney, and is still received annually. In a remonstrance against leasing part of the Grove to Corpus, addressed to the Visitor in 1701 by eleven Fellows of Merton, it is alleged that this alienation of College property to Bishop Fox was one of the grounds on which Warden Rawlins was deposed by Archbishop Warham.

By a composition between the two Colleges, Corpus Christi bound itself to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* annually as its share of tithes and Easter offerings. A plan traced by the antiquary Fulman, the predecessor of Anthony Wood, purports to show the position of the ancient plots now forming the site of Corpus Christi College. 'Bachelors' Garden,' now known as the garden of Corpus Christi College, there occupies the southern part of this site. Immediately north of it, and covering a larger space, is 'Neville's Inne and Garden,' with 'Nun Hall, or Leaden Porch' carved out of its north-west corner, and Beke's Inne and Garden carved out of its south-west corner. The northern part of the site is occupied in equal blocks by 'Corner Hall and Garden,' and 'Urban Hall and Garden.' 'Nunne Hall,' called also 'Leaden Porch,' is stated by Fulman to have been bought of the Abbess and Nuns of Godstow. Peshall, on the other hand, identifies 'Leden Porch' with 'Urbin Hall,' which Fulman describes as purchased by Corpus Christi College, with 'Beke's Inne,' from St. Frideswide's. Possibly, Christopher Hall, described by Peshall as 'next to

Merton College ball-court,' may have been attached to 'Nevyll's Inn.' Whether Curteys Hall, which is described as having stood between Corner Hall and Nevyll's Inn, was included in the garden of either, does not clearly appear. In the College accounts of 1399–1400 there is an entry of receipts from the chambers at 'Curteys Hall.'

In 1567 we find that fourpence was received from the Bursars of Corpus Christi College as a yearly rent for 'tolleration of a certain synke (in the Grove), so longe as the same shall nott be prejudiciall or hurtefull to the aforesayde College of Merton.'

In 1665 leave was specially granted for Corpus Christi College to open windows towards Merton 'ex novo suo apartamento,' and in the middle of the following century they were allowed the use of the Grove during their building operations, provided that they removed their rubbish.

In 1701, however, a proposal that Corpus Christi College should buy or lease a portion of the Grove, though apparently supported by the Warden, was positively vetoed by the Visitor.

2. SITE OF ST. ALBAN HALL.

1424. Survey of St. John's parish, wherein St. Alban Hall is described as standing between Nun Hall (Aula Monialium) on the west, and Hert Hall on the east.

According to Anthony Wood, both St. Alban Hall and Nun Hall originally belonged to a burgher of Oxford, Robert de St. Alban, who gave them, early in Henry III's reign, to the Nuns of Littlemore. He adds that Nun Hall is mentioned by name in a Bursar's account soon after the foundation of Merton College, 'at what time it was by the members thereof appointed to educate the children of the Founder, in Trivialls and other learning, they having then a lease let to them by the said Nuns[1].' St. Alban Hall occurs by that name in a

[1] A fuller account of this institution is given by Peshall, who, however, does not cite his authority. He states that the younger boys of the founder's kin were

document of 1305. Both Halls 'flourished under distinct Principals' until about the date of the Survey (1424), when we find them united, though Anthony Wood states that they afterwards appear in Henry VI's reign under different Principals.

Hert Hall was given to Balliol College in the reign of Edward II by Mr. Richard Huntingore, but seems at the date of the Survey (1424) to have been pulled down or dilapidated, the site and ground being then converted into a garden.

1444. Lease for ninety-nine years from the Prioress of Littlemore to Merton College of 'a walled or enclosed garden late lying and longing to Albon Hall in Oxenford, and extending and containing in length from Albon Hall (kitchin and chambers) northwards to the College wall southwards 40 measured yards and a foot and two inches—and in breadth from the backhouse of the said College westward to the garden of Bayly (=Balliol) Hall eastward 21 mete yards 2 quarters 2½ inches at the north end and 21 mete yards and 2 feet at the south end thereof.' The lease proceeds to give the dimensions of the Balliol garden as 206½ feet in length and 38½ feet in breadth; and it is apparently intended that the lease (though for ninety-nine years) shall only run so long as this Balliol garden can be hired for the joint 'disport' of the Prioress and Merton College.

1462. Lease for ninety-nine years from the Prioress of Littlemore to Henry Sever, as Warden of Merton College, of two Halls, called respectively Alban Hall and Nun Hall, with a garden lying between Merton College on the west and a garden belonging to Balliol College on the east[1].

1496. Lease for sixty-seven years, at a yearly rent

taught by a grammar master, while the more advanced were instructed by the Principal himself, always a Fellow of Merton, in Logic and Philosophy. The most hopeful were elected Fellows, 'not by force of statute, but good will;' the rest were bound apprentices. Other students of the College were also lodged there.

[1] Anthony Wood describes this lease as including 'two gardens extending from the two Halls on the north side to the Town Wall, almost, on the south.' But the words cited by Kilner are 'duas aulas, et unum gardinum,' which, minute as it was, may probably have been common to both.

of 13*s.* 4*d.* from the Prioress of Littlemore to Merton College of 'a Hall commonly styled Alban Hall and in ancient times called Nun Hall, and a garden adjacent to the same Hall . . . which Hall and garden lie between the said College on the west and the garden of Balliol College on the east.'

'By which it appears,' as Anthony Wood truly says, 'that the said Halls were several in the reign of Edward IV, and united in the reign of Henry VII, as being then made and framed in one entire building.' It would also appear that the lease of 1444 was superseded by that of 1462, and that of 1462 by that of 1496.

1494. Resolution of the College empowering Warden Fitzjames to procure from Balliol College a lease of their garden, at a rent of two shillings, for seventy or eighty years.

1497. Lease for ninety-nine years from Balliol to Merton College of a garden lying between Alban Hall and the 'orchard' of Merton College, of which the south end projects to the wall of the said Scholars of Merton, and the north end to the King's highway close to Alban Hall, 'containing in length 206½ feet, and in breadth 38½ feet,' at a rent of two shillings. Merton College further undertakes the liability, formerly devolving upon Balliol, of keeping in repair the northern and eastern walls of this garden, and is empowered to dig there and use it otherwise for its own purposes.

By this time, as we have seen, the College had a lease of St. Alban Hall (now including Nun Hall) with its garden [1].

[1] An old doorway may still be seen, blocked up and built into the wall of Merton College Garden opposite the New Schools and the back entry to the old Angel Inn. This door may have been the one outlet from the gardens into what is now Merton Street, when St. Alban Hall and other adjoining Halls belonged to other owners.

It is worthy of note that at a 'View of Frankpledge' held before the Mayor and Aldermen on April 26, 1515, Merton College, together with the Convent of Oseney, the Convent of 'Seynt Ffrydeswide' and 'Mawdelen College,' is fined as causing a public nuisance, because they 'do suffer the lane ledyng fro the Este gate of Oxford unto the said Merton College on the north parte to be surroundred and infoundred, to the greate annoyance of the Kinges liege people.' It is added that 'the same Warden and Fellowes of Merton College do stopp uppe the comyn

1548. Acquittance from Sir John Williams, showing that Merton College had purchased from him 'Alborne Hall,' with its appurtenances, for the sum of £20.

This Sir John Williams, as we learn from Anthony Wood, had purchased the Hall from Dr. George Owen, late Fellow of Merton, and physician of Henry VIII. It had come into the hands of the King after the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, by whose influence Littlemore Nunnery was dissolved, and he granted it to Owen.

The lease of the Balliol garden seems to have been constantly renewed, and Anthony Wood speaks of a tenement between Alban Hall and Lomb Hall as being leased to Merton in his own time, and 'making part of Alban Hall.'

On April 14, 1682, a house in Holywell was let to the Mayor and Corporation, without a fine, on condition of their letting to the College the part of the garden belonging to them on the same terms.

golette next the saide College, so that the comyn corse of y^e^ water there may in no wise passe by the same golet, to the grete annoyance of the King's lege people. In 1519 the Warden of Merton is mentioned among the suitors of the Hustings Court. Turner's Records of the City of Oxford, pp. 13–22.

APPENDIX B.

STATUTES OF MERTON COLLEGE, ISSUED IN 1274.

(Translated from the copy in the Warden's possession[1].)

CHAPTER 1.

Of the grant of the Manors of Maldon and Farlegh.

IN the name of the most glorious and undivided Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen: I, Walter de Merton, clerk, and formerly Chancellor of the illustrious Lord the King of England, trusting in the goodness of the Sovereign Creator of the world, and of its blessings, and confidently reposing on the grace of Him who at his pleasure orders and directs to good the wills of men, and after I had frequently and anxiously considered how I might make some return in honour of his name, for the abundance of his bounty towards me in this life, did formerly, and before the troubles which have of late arisen in England, found and establish a house which I willed and commanded to be named and entitled 'the House of the Scholars of Merton.' This House was founded and settled before the troubles which arose lately in England, on my own property, which I had acquired by my own exertions: it was situated at Maldon, in the county of Surrey, and was destined for the constant support of scholars residing in schools, in behalf of the salvation of my own soul, and of the souls of the Lord Henry, formerly King of England, that of his brother Richard, the renowned King of the Romans, and

[1] In making this translation, I have freely availed myself of that given in Mr. Percival's 'Statutes of Merton College,' though I have seen reason to interpret many passages and phrases differently from his version.

those of their predecessors and heirs, and of all my own parents and benefactors, to the honour and glory of the Most High. But now that peace is restored in England, and our old troubles are allayed, I approve with firm purpose of mind, establish, and confirm the former grant; and I limit, grant, and assign the local habitation and home of the school to be at Oxford, where there is a prosperous University of students, on my own proper freehold which abuts upon St. John's Church; and it is my will that it should be called the House of the Scholars of Merton, and I decree that it shall be the residence of the Scholars for ever. As I had, at the time of the aforesaid troubles, bestowed on the House or the Scholars who, with the blessing of the Most High, are to reside there for all future times, my manors of Maldon and Farlegh, and their appurtenances, for the perpetual support of the Scholars and ministers of the altar, who are intended to be resident in the House, now that the peace of the realm has been again restored, I make the same grant, and approve, and deliberately ratify and confirm it, of my own free and spontaneous will. It is my further decree that the aforesaid manors shall remain for ever in the possession of the Scholars and brethren, and so of any other manors which I have acquired or may acquire for their use, under the forms and conditions set down below, and that, as well in respect to the persons as to the rules which are to bind them, and which must, God willing, be observed without intermission during all times to come.

CHAPTER 2.

Of the Law Students and Scholars who are to reside in the House.

The form, therefore, which I enact and decree to be for ever observed, is, that in the House which bears the name of the Scholars of Merton, there shall be a constant succession of scholars devoted to the study of letters, who shall be bound to employ themselves in the study of Arts or Philosophy, the

Canons or Theology, the majority of whom are to continue engaged in the Liberal Arts and Philosophy until they are passed on to the study of Theology, at the award of their Warden and Fellows, in consequence of their meritorious proficiency in the former studies. Still, four or five persons, whom their Superior is to appoint, and whom he adjudges to be men of humility and qualified for the purpose, may, if they choose, become students in Canon Law; and the Head may give these persons a dispensation to attend lectures for a while in the civil laws, so long as he deems proper. Let there also be one member of the collegiate body, who shall be a grammarian, and must entirely devote himself to the study of grammar; and let him be furnished, at the expense of the house, with a proper supply of books and other requisites: let him have the care of the students in grammar, and to him also let the more advanced have recourse without a blush, when doubts arise in their faculty; and under his tuition let any of the Scholars themselves, as occasion may arise, and where it may seem expedient in order to give them facility, obtain instruction in the Latin discourse or idiom[1], and let him teach them all effectively and to the utmost of his abilities.

CHAPTER 3.

Of the number of the Scholars, and of the allowance for their support.

Furthermore, the number of the Scholars is to be dependent on the means of the House itself; and each individual is to receive fifty shillings, and no more, annually, through the hands of his Superior, or of those persons who have been appointed to receive and keep the revenues of the House, the payments to be at fitting seasons, yet so that they shall receive every week a certain proportion for their commons. A rateable deduction, however, is to be made from the portions of all those who stay away from the Schools, not being delegated or sent abroad on the necessary concerns of the

[1] Mr. Percival translates 'seu idiomate,' 'or in English.'

House; and the sums deducted are to be applied to the benefit of the House, by the Superior, and by the persons appointed to receive and to have the keeping of its income. But those persons who are sent out on the business of the House, or who are otherwise absent from the House on behalf of its interests—which I enjoin as a duty for one and all the Scholars, when the case requires it—are not to be prejudiced by any deduction from their portions, but are to receive the whole, or else they are to have their reasonable expenses allowed, at the discretion of their Superior.

CHAPTER 4.

Of Scholars who are in ill health.

In case any Scholar, who has been sent out to any place on the necessary business or on behalf of the interests of the House, falls ill during his absence, he shall receive his portion entire for the time, or a competent support in the House for an entire year, if he does not recover previously. But the other Scholars who may be taken ill in the House itself are to have similar advantages for ten months; and from that period, if a person, either of the former or latter class, remain ill for a year continuously, and there be but remote hopes of his recovery, some other person who is available and qualified for study is to be chosen in the place of the person thus disqualified from learning. In case, however, the disease be incurable, and the person thus become incapacitated from obtaining his own living by other means, he is to have a competent support for life in the hospital at Basingstoke, which our Lord the King has upon my prayer and at my instance resolved to found; and the amount of the provision is to be dependent upon the means of the hospital.

CHAPTER 5.

Of the Office of Warden.

The House is to have a Superior, who is always to be denominated the Warden, and who must be a man of circum-

spection in spiritual and temporal affairs; he is to have the pre-eminence and authority over all the Scholars who reside there, and over the ministers of the altar, and over all the other brethren and managers or bailiffs, or by whatever other name they go, who are appointed to the external or domestic administration and government of the House; and all persons, as well Scholars as ministers of the altar, brethren, managers, and bailiffs, are to obey and look up to him as their Superior.

CHAPTER 6.

Of the Warden's conditions of Office.

As to the Warden's conditions of office, so far as regards his institution or deprivation, and other matters concerning him, the rules regarding these particulars are to be strictly observed, in accordance with the directions hereunder written.

CHAPTER 7.

Of the Office and Salary of the Deans.

Some of the discreetest of the Scholars are to be selected; and they, in subordination to the Warden, and in the character of his coadjutors, must undertake the care of the younger sort, and see to their proficiency in study and good behaviour: so that every class of twenty or ten, should such further division be necessary, may have a prepostor[1] of its own; and these prepostors, so long as they devote a diligent attention to the rest, are to have a somewhat more liberal allowance than the others, as reason may require. Notwithstanding this regulation, there is to be one person in every chamber, where Scholars are resident, of more mature age than the others, who is also to have a superintendence over the other Fellows, and who is to make his report of their morals and advancement in learning to the Warden of the House himself, and to the other persons who have authority in this regard, as well as to the general meeting of the Scholars, in case it becomes necessary.

[1] This public-school term seems most aptly to denote the Founder's intention.

CHAPTER 8.

Of the Common Table of the Scholars and of uniformity in Dress.

Moreover the Scholars who are appointed to the duty of studying in the house, under the Warden himself and the other officers, prepostors of tens and twenties, are to have a common table, and a dress as nearly alike as possible.

CHAPTER 9.

Of the Ministers of the Altar.

The members of the College must all be present together, as far as their leisure serves, at the canonical hours and celebration of masses on holy and other days. And in order that these duties may be performed with the greater comeliness and decency, I have resolved and I decree that four ministers of the altar, or three at fewest, who are to be in priest's orders, and who must wear a respectable and suitable attire, shall be in constant residence within the House.

CHAPTER 10.

Of the Table-reader.

The Scholars are also to have a reader at meals, and in eating together they are to observe silence, and to listen to what is read.

CHAPTER 11.

Of the conduct to be observed in the Chambers.

In their chambers, they must abstain from noise and interruption of their fellows, and apply themselves with all diligence to study; and when they speak they must use the Latin language; in these respects, and in all which falls under the rules of grammar, patiently deferring to the direction and correction of the aforesaid grammar-master.

CHAPTER 12.

Of the non-introduction of Strangers.

Also the Scholars themselves are carefully to observe the following injunction, that is to say: That no one shall become burdensome to his fellows by introducing strangers, or even near relatives, in order that the quiet of the rest may not be disturbed by these means, and so altercations and quarrels arise; but as they were admitted to the support of the College out of charity, so must they all live meekly in fellowship, without burdening each other, but sharing all things fairly, according to the rate of their portions.

CHAPTER 13.

Of the qualifications for admission and the year of probation.

There is another rule also, which I would have and decree to be particularly observed in this House, regarding those persons who shall hereafter be admitted to a share of this charity, and it is this,—that care and a diligent solicitude shall be taken that no persons be admitted but those who are of good conduct, chaste, peaceable, humble, indigent, of ability for study, and desirous of improvement; and in order to make trial of these qualifications, when they become eligible for admission into the society, a gratuitous support for one year, for the purpose of probation, is to be allowed them in the first instance, that in case they fairly satisfy the aforesaid conditions, they may eventually be admitted into the body. Among those, however, who are to be admitted and to receive this gratuitous support, those persons who are of my own kin are to be the chief and first, because of the succession which by the custom of the realm is their due in my fee-simple estates; and next to them are to come the persons who are from the diocese of Winchester and from other dioceses and other places where the benefices or estates in fee and other possessions appointed for their support are situated.

All of these, as soon as they shall be thus admitted to the

House, are to be paid the aforesaid yearly sums for their support, so long as they act in obedience to their superiors, and live with their fellows in peace, forbearance, and modesty, and while they employ themselves diligently in the studies appointed for them, and behave in a praiseworthy and reputable manner.

CHAPTER 14.

Of the reasons for expulsion, of crimes, and of the triple admonition.

In case, however, a lasting or incurable disease, as aforesaid, attack any of them, or he become a monk, or enter into the service of any person, or obtain too liberal a benefice[1], or retire from the House with the intention of giving up learning, or neglect to study in the House, the aforesaid provision is utterly to cease in his person. But if any one of them be branded with a public mark of disgrace, or if a grievous scandal within the house itself have been caused by any one of them; or if his conduct towards the Master and his other superiors have been unbearable, or hostile towards his fellows, or if he have frequently excited quarrels, his support or exhibition is to be entirely withdrawn, and he himself is to be utterly excluded from the society. But the rule in regard to offences is to be subject to a certain distinction. If a Scholar shall be clearly found guilty, by competent witnesses or other conclusive evidence, before the Superior, assisted by six or seven of the Seniors of the house, of perjury, sacrilege, theft, or robbery, homicide, adultery, or other lapse of the flesh, or of beating a Fellow, or the Master[2], which is worse, the sole commission of such an offence, even for the first time, shall suffice to show him most worthy of expulsion or ejection from the House. But if a suspicion only of some grave crime shall arise against him, resting on the report of fame, or rather

[1] The interpretation of this expression—*uberius beneficium*—was the occasion of incessant disputes and appeals to the Visitor, especially after the Reformation.

[2] 'Magistri' may possibly mean a Master-Fellow, but more probably denotes the Warden.

infamy, or if he shall commit any one of the lighter offences, as, for instance, some trifling act of disobedience towards a prepostor or master, or if he have been the cause of exciting some passing dispute or quarrel with a Fellow, he is to be reproved by an admonition, thrice repeated by the Superior or some other person in authority, if necessary, warning him for the future to have more regard to his character, or to abstain altogether from the like insolent conduct. But in case he slight this thrice repeated warning, and either show a lamentable indifference to his own character, or evince no desire of amendment, he is to be expelled from the House without hope of restoration, and to remain for ever in that state of expulsion.

CHAPTER 15.

Of disputes among the Fellows.

But if a serious dispute shall arise among any of them, it is to be settled by the aforesaid prepostors of tens (Deans) or twenties, if they are found equal to settling it without recourse to the Superior; otherwise, an end is to be made of the business by the Superior of the House himself, with six or eight of the Seniors of the House for his assessors, and whatever the Superior deems right to order in such manner shall be strictly observed and carried into execution, without any contradiction. But if either party fail to abide by this determination, the mutinous party is to be absolutely excluded from the house as incorrigible and rebellious.

CHAPTER 16.

Of the denial of Appeal to expelled persons.

Persons expelled from the aforesaid House are to be absolutely refused every advantage of the House, and all participation in its possessions; and they are not to be allowed any remedy at law or right of re-entry, either by way of action or appeal, or by lodging a complaint against the Warden of the House, or against the Scholars or any other persons of the

House on account of their removal or expulsion; nor are they to obtain letters from any secular or ecclesiastical court, nor to use letters of any sort, or from any persons, obtained in opposition to their aforesaid removal, however they may be recommended elsewhere by the merits of probity and good conduct. For in order that the goods of the House may not serve for the support of idle suits, and that no party may have recourse to courts of justice in consequence of his expulsion, I enact and decree, that no persons are to have any right to the support and goods of the House, or to have power to claim aught for themselves, except so long as they behave with such humility, obedience, forbearance, and moderation, that the Warden and Fellows of the House can approve of their conduct and of their diligence in their lessons, and can take pleasure in their society, without strife and murmuring or scandal.

CHAPTER 17.

Of the conduct of Elections.

In case any Scholar of the House should pass away[1], or should be expelled for the reasons above stated, another must be immediately chosen in his place, and he must be a person about whom the Warden of the House, together with thirteen of the senior Scholars, are agreed; or if they should differ, the vacancy shall be filled by the person on whom the Warden, together with the six Seniors of the aforesaid thirteen, are agreed. I decree, both in the case of a substitution of this kind and also in that of the admission of any other persons, that the conditions above stated in respect to persons admissible are to be investigated under the obligation of an oath made, or solemn assurance given, by all and each of the parties concerned, and that such conditions shall be for ever observed to the utmost of the abilities of the parties.

[1] The Latin word is 'deficientis.'

CHAPTER 18.

Of the re-admission of expelled persons.

But in order that undue severity may not be shown to parties expelled for more venial crimes, as above stated, or for light offences, or to those who give up their studies, if they afterwards bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, and do not cause the Warden or the Officers or Scholars of the House to be molested by actions or appeals or by any other of the courses above mentioned, in consequence of their expulsion, and do humbly petition to be again admitted to the places and benefits of the House, they may be allowed, as matter of special favour, whenever any new vacancies occur, to be in pity admitted thereto, if the Warden and Scholars deem it expedient, in the same form and manner in which others are admitted for the first time.

CHAPTER 19.

Of the Office of Vice-Warden.

The house is to have under the Warden a single Senior or Vice-Warden, who must be a man of approved conversation and morals, and either one of the ministers of the altar above mentioned, or some other person appointed to this office, who is to take the place of the Warden when the latter is absent, in reference to the duty, conduct, and progress both of the ministers of the altar themselves, and of the Scholars, the Deans, and the Prepostors of twenties aforesaid, and he must also give his diligent assistance to the Warden when present, to the utmost of his abilities, in dealing with these matters.

CHAPTER 20.

Of Scrutinies.

I also deem it expedient, and it is my will that a Chapter or Scrutiny shall be holden in the House itself by the Warden and the Seniors, and all the Scholars there present, three times in the year; that is to say, during eight days before Christmas,

for the first time; and again, during eight days before Easter; and for the third time, on the feast of St. Margaret, when the Masters usually cease from the act of reading. At this Scrutiny a diligent enquiry is to be instituted into the life, conduct, morals, and progress in learning, of each and all, and about all matters which need correction or improvement; and what requires correction is then to be corrected, and also excesses are to be visited with condign punishment, according to the measure and amount of the offence, conformably to the rules already laid down, when this business has not been previously despatched.

CHAPTER 21.

Of candidates soliciting bounty from the Chapter, of Mortuary Services, etc.

Also in the same terms, and at the same Chapters, or at some one of them, all parties who wish to petition for such benefits of the House are to attend, and are to be admitted at the same Chapters, on the clear testimony of persons worthy of belief, who have taken notice of their life and conduct, the gratuitous support for the year which they previously enjoyed, as above stated, being thenceforth granted them in the House itself, if there be no question about the qualifications above mentioned, and it appear expedient. All the persons, without distinction, so admitted are to be subjected at the very time of admission to the obligation of an oath, faithfully to observe all the particulars comprised in this present writing and the sequel, and in an especial manner that particular article,—that in the case of their expulsion, on the ground of their possible demerits, they shall expressly renounce beforehand every action and appeal, and every remedy of law, whether canon, common, or civil. Moreover, at the time of the celebration of the Chapters or Scrutinies, when the Warden and all the persons living in the House shall attend, they shall see that Divine Service be solemnly performed for their Founder, and their other benefactors, living or dead; and also,

that the tenor of this present writing be rehearsed in the presence of them all, with a view to the preservation and everlasting remembrance of this Charity.

CHAPTER 22.

Of the Stewards and Brethren.

There are to be Stewards, also, on the lands (*locorum*) and manors of the House, where it is necessary and seems expedient, who are to look to the keeping and business of the lands and manors, in subordination to the Warden. And if they be found useful and honourable, they shall be competent to enjoy a perpetuity in the House, and the name of Brethren, with a decent attire. Still their faults may be punished by the Warden of the House, with the assistance of six or seven of its Seniors, according to the measure and amount of the offence, by removing them from the society of the brethren, and from a share in the goods of the House, and that without the hope of restoration; and every description of action against the Warden or Scholars and brethren of the House, and every aid of law on account of their removal is peremptorily barred, unless it so happen that afterwards they evince a due repentance, as has been stated more explicitly above, in reference to the Scholars.

CHAPTER 23.

Of the Bursars and accounts of the College.

Moreover, three qualified and discreet persons are to be appointed from the number of the Scholars, who are to receive the rents and profits of the lands and possessions of the House from the hands of the Warden, the Stewards, and of all other persons, from whatever quarter the income may arise, and this under the solemn statement of the aforesaid Senior; and they are with good faith and prudence to lodge them in safety, for the purpose of the above-mentioned distributions, and of the other occasions of the House. Also, the accounts of all the bailiffs are to be diligently and minutely audited

every year by the Warden and the Senior, in the presence of the said three, together with five others of the most discreet members of the House, who are to be appointed for the purpose. The accounts of the three, also, are to be audited in like manner in the presence of the Warden and Senior, and the other five. Moreover, the Warden himself must every year render an account of his administration, and of the goods of the College which have come to his hands, in the presence of the Senior, or Vice-Warden, and the other five.

CHAPTER 24.

Of the Visitation of the Warden and Stewards.

In order that the property and entire dominion of the manors and possessions of the House, whether they are ecclesiastical or secular, may be clearly shown to belong to the Scholars, and that the agency and management of the Warden and of the other persons who are set over the manors and other possessions may be in no respect unknown to the Senior, who is appointed to the custody and business of the House when the Warden is absent, as before mentioned, or to the Scholars thereof, the Warden himself, upon receiving notice from the Senior and the Scholars, is, once a year, to convene, on a day certain, all the stewards and brethren of their manors and possessions, who are resident at the manors and places, to some one of the manors or places. The Warden and aforesaid Senior are to be in attendance at the day and place, and so are eight or ten of the elder Scholars of the House, for the purpose, God willing, of turning the visitation of the Warden and that of the brethren or stewards and other officers of the College to the best account. Upon the arrival, therefore, of the Warden, the Senior, and the Scholars aforesaid, all the stewards and bailiffs are, in token of the surrender of their offices, to resign their keys into the hands of the Warden in the presence of the Senior and the Scholars aforesaid, without reserving any right which may belong to them in their offices; and then a diligent enquiry is to be instituted by the said

Senior and Scholars into the life, conduct, and morals of the Warden, stewards, and brethren, and also with respect to their offences; and thereupon, after the accounts of each have been audited at the time or earlier as above stated, and after a full investigation, as far as can be, of their conduct in their offices, the delinquencies of the stewards, brethren, and bailiffs, upon being discovered, are to be severely punished with such animadversion as they deserve, either by way of expulsion from any participation in the goods of the House, and the fellowship of the brethren, or by perpetual or temporary removal from office, or by any other penalty which the President deems adequate. But all the persons who are found to have acted with prudence and fidelity are to be continued in their former administrations, on a new commission from the Warden, with the consent of the Scholars as his assessors, or they are to be advanced, or to be transferred to other places and more important offices, or are to be honoured in other ways at the discretion and award of the judge, in order that the bad and negligent may be constantly incited to improvement by the fear of punishment, and the faithful and good by honourable rewards.

CHAPTER 25.

Of increasing and defining the number of the Scholars.

But in case it be discovered at this meeting that the goods of the House have been so much augmented, that the number of the Scholars themselves admits of increase at the same rate of support, then, without prejudice to the education of the children, noticed hereafter, the number is to be increased for the honour of God's name; and the amount of the increase is to be ascertained and determined on the spot. But if any one of the Scholars, or the Warden, or brethren, with a view to his own self-indulgence, or to a greater abundance of provisions, should prefer any obstacle to augmenting the number of the Scholars proportionably, as the means are increased, he shall be compelled, be he who he may, to abandon the said obstacle, by means of a penalty to be imposed at the discre-

tion of the Senior; and should he persist in his objection, he shall be peremptorily excluded from the House, as guilty of a grievous crime. But in case the aforesaid Warden should make any opposition (which Heaven forbid!) to an increase in the number of the Scholars in the case above supposed, he shall receive a first, second, and third admonition from the Scholars and brethren, who, together with the Senior, have been convened to the place, and every admonition is to extend over two days; and after the third admonition, and in case he do not repent of his design, the fact is to be reported by the Senior or some of the above-mentioned Scholars to the Visitor of the House, and if, having been rebuked by him, after the previous admonitions, he presume to throw further hindrances in the way of so laudable a benefit, he shall be deposed by the Visitor from his office as guilty of a grievous crime, and the Scholars are to be at full liberty to provide themselves and their House with a Warden, according to the form prescribed to them in the present Statutes. But I have thought it right to temper all these rules in reference to the punishment of parties who oppose the increase of the number with this condition,—that if the opponent openly express a just and very clear reason for this opposition, as for instance a burdensome debt, or a suit with a powerful adversary, or some contribution imposed on the churches destined for the benefit of the Scholars, or a subsidy to the Holy Land, the ransom of the prince or a prelate, the sudden firing or fall of houses or churches, a murrain among the sheep, herds, or flocks, or similar accidents which it is not easy to enumerate, the opponent is not only to be adjudged, as he merits, to be free from punishment, but also to be worthy of praise and honour.

CHAPTER 26.

Of the return from the Chapter.

But after all the business which was to be disposed of and completed at the meeting has been properly ordered, that is to say, after the delinquencies have been punished, and the

accounts of the Warden, stewards, and other ministers have been taken, and after officers or stewards of prudence and ability have by the general decision been established in the several manors, and after it has been settled whether it be possible to increase the number of the Scholars and to what extent, or in the event of this determination being suspended or delayed in consequence of the Warden's opposition, the Senior, accompanied by the Scholars, is to return to the House of the Scholars, from whence he had withdrawn for a time with a view to this visitation; and the stewards are to proceed to the places assigned to them, and are to employ themselves with fidelity and application in their duties. The Warden too, in like manner, is to return, and to resume his province with all skill and attention, as the nature of the case and the necessity or expediency of the time or place require.

CHAPTER 27.

Of the Warden's Progress, and of the gathering in of Fruits.

Moreover, every year, after getting in the autumnal produce, the Warden is to go his rounds and to visit all the manors and places which belong to the House, and he is also to take a view and assess the quantity of goods in the several places, and he is faithfully to reduce to writing such an assessment or estimate, and, that done, he is to present and deliver it to the Senior and Scholars of the House, in order that eventually, when the year is completed, and the accounts come to be taken, their strict truth may be the better ascertained by comparison with the written statement.

CHAPTER 28.

Of the Warden's table and emoluments, the office of Vice-Warden, the horses, clothing, and extra table allowances of the Warden; and the residence of the Vice-Warden and Chaplains.

The Warden is to have a table at which the Senior, or Vice-Warden, aforesaid, and the three Chaplains, and also the five

servants, if so many are wanted, who wait on the Warden Senior and Chaplains, are to mess with him; for which purpose he is every year to receive fifty marks out of the funds of the House; and, besides this, the Vice-Warden is every year to receive at the cost of the House fifty shillings for his clothing and other requisites, and the three Chaplains respectively two marks. But the Warden is also, and in addition to the fifty marks, to have at the charge of the common stock two post-horses, with provender for them, and clothing for his own person suitable to his position, and also wages for his servants. Also, whereas it is proper that the stewards and bailiffs of the House, and their messengers, who will often have occasion to come to the House on its business, should be entertained at the table of the Warden, Senior, and Chaplains, I will and decree, that, if it turn out that the lands and possessions of the House are so improved in any particular or in any locality by the energy of the Warden, Senior, and Chaplains, that greater and more ample returns and profits arise therefrom, as for example, if the possession or manor which at the time of its assignment or conveyance to the House was worth ten marks should rise by means of the supposed improvement to a higher amount, say, to fifteen marks, or to any other amount, a tithe of the improvement shall go the Warden, Senior, and Chaplains for the support of their table and charges. But the Vice-Warden and three Chaplains are under the obligation of constant residence within the House, except in cases where they may be despatched to a distance on important and urgent business of the House.

CHAPTER 29.

Of the Election of the Warden.

When a Warden is to be appointed, the proceeding must be as follows:—Seven of the elder and more discreet members of the House are to be deputed to make enquiry of all the Scholars of the House respectively if they are acquainted with any persons, either belonging to the House or from elsewhere,

who are possessed of judgment and experience in spiritual and temporal affairs; and when they have heard all the Scholars, then the seven (seniors), after taking into consideration the energy, probity, and honour of each, are to select three whom they deem best qualified and necessary for the purpose of their House from the several persons nominated by the Scholars, or from other persons, if that be clearly the most expedient course, and they are then to give in the three names to their Visitor, in order that any one of the three whom the Visitor considers to be the best qualified may be by his authority set over them and the House as their Warden.

CHAPTER 30.

Of the Election of the Vice-Warden, Bursars, and Chaplains.

The Senior or Vice-Warden, and the Chaplains, and also the three who are to be appointed to receive and keep the income and profits of the lands and possessions belonging to the House are to be nominated by the Warden and five only of the other seniors of the House who are to be specially deputed for the purpose, instead of the whole body. These delegates, that is to say, the Senior or the Vice-Warden, and the Chaplains, and also the three others who are deputed to receive and to have the custody of the profits and income, are to be strictly bound under the obligation of their oath to preserve the rights and liberties of the House, and to apply all diligence that the rule handed down to the Scholars may be by them fully observed for ever without fraud or evasion.

CHAPTER 31.

Of admonishing and reporting against the Warden.

The same officers, or any three or two of them, or any other Scholars of the House in their default, shall be competent to rebuke and reprove the Warden, and all other members whatever of the society or their servants, in case the Warden himself shall have been negligent, or have acted remissly, and they are to report to the Visitor the neglects and

omissions, crimes and offences, which cannot be readily redressed in the House, and the Visitor shall punish them at his discretion, or correct them, as he sees fit.

CHAPTER 32.

Of the subjects which are to be reported to the Visitor.

Furthermore, since industry, integrity, and diligence in the Warden are especially necessary and important to the said House—while through his negligence (which Heaven forbid!), or arrogance, the said House may be menaced with waste and still more serious jeopardy—I ordain, in addition to the premisses, that if the Warden for the time being of the said House shall, for acts of dilapidation or incontinence, or other reasonable cause, be deemed to merit removal, as past endurance or prejudicial to the Society, the Visitor of the said House shall take cognizance of a cause of this nature, at the suggestion or report of two or three members of the said Society (to which duty one and all of the said Society must be bound by their debt or fealty), and that the Visitor shall deal with it in a summary and simple way without the wrangling of a trial at law (especially as I should be loth that the means of the said House were expended in litigation), and let him remove such Warden, and without loss of time substitute another in his place, in conformity with the regulations above laid down.

CHAPTER 33.

Of provision for the Warden and Servants in their old age.

But if the aforesaid Warden, while continuing in office with merit and approbation, should break down with old age or constant toil, or live on to a state of imbecility, so as to be incapacitated from exercising the functions of the said office, from that time forth he is to be competently and decently supplied with necessary food and clothing in the House for the whole course of his life, among its aged and meritorious brethren. But he shall be held bound in all cases to apply his utmost exertions in the way of sound advice towards the

promotion of the interests of the House, as though they were his own; and also to advance them by bodily exertion, if he should recover strength, as far as he can properly and honourably do so. The servants also, and ministers of the House, who have served it with fidelity, have enjoyed its approbation and promoted its interests, and have lived on till they are superannuated or imbecile, so as to be disqualified from obtaining a living by their own exertions, are, if the Warden and Scholars approve, to be supplied with a maintenance in food and clothing within the House, so long as they live, as a fitting reward for their good service. But they also are held bound, as far as they are able, by their aid and counsel, and even by their bodily exertions, to promote the interests of the House.

CHAPTER 34.

Of the Horses to be allowed.

When it becomes necessary for the Warden to ride to any estates of the House, or elsewhere, for the manifest advantage of the House, he may lawfully have with him, on a third horse, a single brother or steward, as a companion or minister in his journey. But the stewards or brethren are not to keep a horse, unless in cases where the state of the manors renders it necessary; and the horses of the House are to be of a moderate price, in order that the House may not be overburthened with the expense of them. The horses of Scholars, whether on their way to the Schools or returning from the University, are not to be supplied with anything at all at the manors, except in the single instance in which Scholars of the House are despatched to any part on its public business.

CHAPTER 35.

Of the Burial of Fellows.

Also the Fellows of the Society, as they were fellows in the intercourse of life to their lives' end, are in like manner, at their death, to have ecclesiastical burial among their fellows and brethren.

CHAPTER 36.

Of the power to make new Statutes.

But inasmuch as all future cases cannot be beforehand comprised in any certain law or statute, I do therefore will and enact, that if hereafter any salutary and honourable observances and statutes shall be made, on the advice of able persons, by the Warden and ten or eight of the elder and discreet members of the House, to promote the well-being and preservation of the existing institution, they are to be observed by all and each of the members of the House, in all future times, without opposition or contradiction.

CHAPTER 37.

That the Rights and Possessions are not to lapse in consequence of the Scholars' change of domicile.

Let this also be specially observed: that is to say, that if the local habitation or society of Scholars engaged in study, should from any causes which may well arise, but cannot easily be enumerated, be transferred to some other spot, no right or possession which they enjoy in the above-mentioned manors, or in any other matters which have already been, or may hereafter be, assigned to them by the pious munificence of believers, shall be lost in consequence, but that nevertheless all their possessions shall remain entire; and that the existing statutes, and any others which may in future be promulgated, and all privileges already conferred, or which may be conferred, upon the House, shall continue in force, although the Society itself may perchance hereafter be transferred to some other locality, provided, however, that the members maintain and preserve the present institution, as well in act as in name, and do not attach themselves and their possessions to any other College (*collegio*).

CHAPTER 38.

Of keeping the Peace.

I also enjoin the Scholars above all things, in God's name and by their hopes of happiness both in this life and the next,

that in all things, and above all things, they ever observe unity, and mutual charity, peace, concord, and love.

CHAPTER 39.

Of the obligation of persons arriving at preferment.

And, when by the Lord's bounty they attain a richer provision (*uberior fortuna*), [I enjoin them] that they be zealous in advancing the House by all lawful and fair means, and on all occasions resolutely stand up in its defence, and that of all its possessions; and that, like true sons of Abraham, they see that others of our kindred, and the rest of their brethren who become so by adoption, are educated and advanced in pious conduct and sanctity of morals, to the praise of their Founder. They must also always regard with respect and devotion the House of St. John of Basingstoke, which our Lord the King of England, above mentioned, at my entreaty and instance, established and founded on my land and farm, for the support of the ministers of Christ's altar, of Scholars in infirm health, and of pauper invalids; and they must increase and enrich it, as God shall inspire them with grace and furnish them with means.

CHAPTER 40.

Of the education of the little ones, and of the Founder's kinsmen.

But forasmuch as I have, under God's eye, converted, as aforesaid, the inheritance of my lands in fee, which by the custom of the realm was due to my heirs or kinsmen, for the purposes of this charity, I will and enact that if any young children of my kin need support in consequence of the death or poverty of their parents, while they are under instruction in the first rudiments of knowledge, in such case the Warden shall cause them, to the number of thirteen, to be educated in the House until they can make their way in the Schools, if they turn out to be of ability for that purpose; and that from among them shall be chosen, to fill up vacancies among the Scholars, as aforesaid, such as are ascertained to be of proper

ability and character. And in order that that pest which, by the allurements of the flesh, so often plagues the unwary, may not rankle in the House or Society, the several duties of the House, at least within the walls of the court of the Scholars' House, and also at the manor of Maldon, and elsewhere, so far as it can be accomplished, shall for ever be done by males. Also, in case any freemen of my household, who may be living in my service at the time of my decease, shall stand in want of a livelihood, and if during my life I make no other provision for them, in that case they shall be provided during life with a competent support in the House, to be arranged according to their personal merits, but so that they devote their services to the House in employments for which they are qualified, so long as they can do so with advantage.

CHAPTER 41.

Of the denial of appeal to a Warden expelled.

Moreover, as I have ordained above that persons expelled from the House, for their possible demerits, are altogether to be refused any benefit and share in its possessions, I would have the same rule observed in case of the removal of the Warden of the House when he has been removed for the reasons before stated, so that when he has been removed or expelled, as above mentioned, no action, nor remedy by canon or civil law, shall be open to him, whereby he may again obtain admission to the Wardenship, or to the House.

CHAPTER 42.

Attestation.

And in order to the everlasting remembrance and security of the above (regulations), the seal of the Most Serene Prince, the Lord Edward, the illustrious King of the English, has been appended to these presents, together with my own seal, in witness of his consent and approbation. Given in the month of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four.

APPENDIX C.

THE following record of a Scrutiny held in 1338–9 is extracted from Professor Rogers's 'History of Prices,' vol. ii. pp. 670–4.

"NOTE.

According to the Founder's Statutes, the Warden and Fellows of the College were to meet three times a-year, viz. eight days before Christmas, eight days before Easter, and on St. Margaret's day (July 20th), in order to enquire into the general conduct of the house, and the behaviour of its members. Every Fellow it would seem was invited to speak. It does not appear from the Statutes that such observations as might be made were to be formally recorded in any register. On the contrary, from some of the complaints stated in the following record, it is probable that notes were not commonly taken at the meeting. At any rate, this is the only scrutiny preserved in the ancient archives of the Society. It presents a remarkable and perhaps a singular account of the domestic state of a College in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The original is written on four membranes. Two of these are damaged by damp, and the greater part of the third is torn away. The one remaining is nearly perfect. The contractions however are very numerous, the writing is very bad, and the grammar is very irregular; so that the contents of the documents have been deciphered with great difficulty.

Scrutinium die Sanctæ Margaretæ anno xij.
(July 20, 1338).

WESTCOMBE dicit de silentio non observato in mensa. Item de discordia inter Wŷlŷ et Fŷnemer.

HUMBERSTON quod duo socii deliquerint in hoc quod nolunt subire onera domûs sicut tenentur. Item quod domus est nimis oneratus equis.

FYNEMER quod Elyndon quum loquitur cum sociis non vult permittere eos loqui. Item quod Wantyng Wyly et Elyndon sunt nimis rebelles. Item quod Wantyng et Elyndon in negotiis communibus tractandis nolunt dare consilium sicut alii socii. Item quod Elyndon et Wyly habent uberius.

GOTHAM. Nihil.

BERNARD quod mutua caritas inter socios non est observata inter custodem et socios alios. Item quod est defectus quia non sunt nisi tres audientes ratiocinia de illis v. assignandis.

SUTTON quod est defectus eo quod assignati nolunt audire ratiocinia sine Wŷlŷ et Wantŷng.

MIDLOND quod paucitatem habemus sociorum.

HOTHAM quod non est caritas inter socios qualiter deberet esse, et inter custodem et Wŷlŷ Elyndon Wantyng.

HETHELBURY de discordia inter Wŷlŷ et Fŷnemer. Item est rancor inter custodem nec causa litis et Wŷlŷ et Wantyng. propter assignationem juniorum duorum ut audirent ratiocinia ballivorum et credit quod sit defectus juniorum et super custodem.

* * * * *

* * * quod mutua caritas deficit inter socios.

LENCHELADE quod defectus est quod deputati ad audiendas rationes non veniant quod foret bonum quod haberemus plures socios.

MONBY quod assignati legitime ad audienda ratiocinia non audiunt et ideo non observatur aulæ statutum de v. assignatis.

LEVERYNTON. Nihil.

ELHAM. Nihil.

DOYLY quod non est bona pax inter custodem et seniores, et vellet quod numerus sociorum augeatur.

DURRANT. Nihil.

ASSYNDEN. Nihil.

ELYNDON quod custos corrigat se frequenter dicendo. quod

minus bonum est actum cum illis de sanguine quoad vestitum et doctrinam. quod custos sine rationabili causa se absentavit pluries. Item in causa multa fuerunt tractata et non sunt observata quod Fynemer male tractat eum et quod nulli deponunt de hoc querelam nisi complices sui et quod custos reddit se erga eum nimis gravem. et quod non tractat eum sicut debeat quia sustinet Fynemer contra eum. et quod Fynemer intulit minas mortales Wyly et quod in privatis colloquiis informat alios male de ipso Elyndon.

LYNHAM de discordia inter Wyly et Fynemer. et de defectu juniorum qui sunt assignati ad audienda ratiocinia quod non veniunt ut audiant sicut deberent.

Scrutinium ante Natale anno xij°. (Dec. 1338.)

HANDELE de electione facienda.

WESTCOMBE ordinetur quod socii possint habere accessum ad librariam. De pecunia legata per scolasticos.

BERNARD. Nihil dicit.

SUTTON. Quod expedit eligere plures socios.

THENET. Nihil.

HUMBERSTON quod domus est nimis oneratus equis.

MIDLOND. Nihil.

REGHAM. de numero augendo sociorum de mutua caritate inter custodem Elyndon Wantyng. quod capellanus corrigatur quoad calligas et ejus vestes.

HEGTERBURY. de numero sociorum augendo. quod est quidam rancor inter Wyly et Fynemer et non sedatur adhuc.

BURCOTE quod expediret habere plures socios.

BREDON quod expediret procedere ad electionem.

DUMBELDON quod fiat electio.

WYLIOT quod non est profectus in facultate artium sicut solebat nec in domo nec extra.

EYNHO expediret quod modo fieret electio.

LENCHELADE. Nihil.

BOCTON quod magistri qui non intendunt physicis occupant libros philosophiæ.

MONBY vellet quod socii haberent accessum ad librariam.

LEVERTON. Nihil.

ASSINDON ut fiat electio.

DOYLY videtur sibi quod electio est facienda, quod Johannes capellanus tenet famulum et cotidie contendit cum eo et imponendo sibi furtum.

ELHAM quod fiat electio.

DURRAUNT. Videtur sibi quod electio est facienda.

ELYNDON. Nihil.

WANTINGE de silentio in mensa. de caligis Willelmi capellani. quod Johannes magis honeste se habeat in ecclesia. quod capellani celebrent singulis diebus.

WYLY quod Johannes capellanus corrigatur quoad famulum quem tenet in Camera et quia negligens est in ecclesia quod per decanum fiat silentium in mensa quod socii obloquuntur quod ceteri non mutant singulis annis novas vestes cum tum solebant transferre antiquas sine obloquio. Item quod illata est sibi injuria per unum socium de quo est multotiens querelatum et non est sibi adhuc facta emenda quod juxta statuta custos tenetur esse præsens in lectura statuti. quod illa quæ alias erant dicta et concernentia personam custodis non sunt adhuc omnia correcta ideo fiat correctio in persona custodis quoad illa de quibus se non correxit.

MIDELTON quod Johannes Capellanus non teneat famulum corripiantur capellani de negligentia in ecclesia.

BOKYNGHAM. quod socii uterentur caligis inhonestis juxta antiquam consuetudinem quæ solebat observari.

WESTCOMBE. BREDONE inculpant capellanum.

STAUNTON quod de statuto tenemur augere numerum sociorum.

Scrutinium ante Pascham anno xiij. (March, 1339.)

MIDELTON. Quod W. Capellanus excessit contra socios multotiens.

HANDELE. Expedit quod vocentur seniores ad concordandum Wyly et Fynemer.

WESTCOMBE. De tumultu sociorum in cameris.

HUMBRESTON. De discordia inter Wyly et Fynemer. Item quod socii tenent canes et quod otio impeditur profectus studii. Item quod non observatur regula in hoc quod non habemus ẏconomicos. Item expediret quod terra in parva Wolford dimittatur ad firmam.

FYNEMER quod Wyly alias assignatus in forma statuti ad audienda ratiocinia audire noluit et post ter monitus et per socios requisitus iterum recusavit tanquam rebellis et ideo est in casu statuti. Item quod injuste percipit communas quia habet uberius et ideo illi qui deberent facere processum contra eum sunt nimis remissi.

WANTYNG quod custos non faciat senioribus injurias tales quales incepit facere.

WYLY quod mittatur apud Stratton ad inquirendum de terris et aliis rebus domus.

LYNHAM de discordia cedanda inter socios.

SUTTON ipsi quod deberent habere custodem cautionum non habent, sed deficit et dicitur quod quidam libri venduntur, nec domus nec domini habent excrescentiam. Item quod custos non facit executionem contra debitores domus et præcipue contra ballivum de Elham. et quod Wanting tenetur ballivo de Elham in xij*lib:* xvj*d.* de bonis domus. Item quod non deberet ingerere se in scrutiniis cum tum in aliis negotiis tractandis excusavit se. Item quod Waneting accepit mutuo de pecunia domus et non satisfecit sed excusat se, quia custos non respexit eum competentem pro laboribus.

CLEANGRE de discordia cedanda inter socios. Item quod novus modus est introductus quia tot sunt scriptores in scrutinio.

HANDELE vellet quod in libraria j par ponantur decretorum et decretalium. Item quod fiat divisio librorum domus.

HEGTELBURY de dissensione apud socios. Item quod cautiones expositæ domui non sint nisi? inter custodem bursarios et contra vocem eorum. Item quod in libraria ponantur j par decretorum et j par? decretalium.

BOKYNGHAM quod Wantyng apud Elham vendidit equos domus et detinet pecunias in manibus suis nec satisfecit nec ballivus. Item quod quum fuit * * cautiones fuerunt in manibus sociorum et non sunt * * Item quod non sint in scrutinio plures scriptores. Item quod Elyndon provocat socios.

STAUNTON dicit idem.

BREDON. de discordia cedanda.

EYNO * * quod sint plures audientes scrutinium.

REGHAM. Nihil.

PEKHAM de discordia cedanda.

DUMBLETON. Nil.

MONBY. de hoc quod nimis plures fuerunt scriptores in scrutinio. Item quod Wantyng sine causa absentavit se in electione sociorum. Item quod idem et Elyndon in negotiis tractandis non respondebant nisi cum protestatione. Item de hoc quod Wyly excessit contra Fynemer publice coram omnibus sociis.

MANYNTON quod ponantur decreta et decretalia in libraria. Item quod fiat divisio librorum domus.

FYNEMER quod Wyly injuriabatur sibi quod ballivus de Elham tradidit Wantyng vij*li.* et xvj*d.* de pecunia domus et ed usum domus sed credidit et non est solutio pecuniæ ejus in manibus Wantyng. Item quod Elyndon excessit in verbis contra Fynemer sine causa.

BERNARD de discordia inter Wyly et Fynemer.

LEVERYNTON. de discordia inter socios. Item quod seneschallus non est præsens in ecclesia diebus festivalibus sed absens est pro majore parte.

* * * * *

WYLY. Petit quod illa quæ dicta sunt per Elyndon et Wantyng corrigantur et monet monitionem caritiæ. quod custos ea corrigat et illa scilicet quæ alias erant dicta custodi in scrutinio et maxime id expressum per Elyndon quod famæ quædam sociorum sunt denigratæ et cet: Item quod Duraunt imposuit Wyly quod ipse et alii seniores intendebant impedire

electionem et hoc habuit ex illis qui fuerunt proxime London. Item de injuria sibi illata alias per Fynemer, etc.

MIDELTON de fractura hostii aulæ dicit quod Elham est in culpa. Item quod habeamus molendinum apud Seton. Item quod decreta et decretalia ponantur in libraria.

HANDELE vellet quod pax reformetur visa opportunitate. Item quod juniores exhibeant reverentiam senioribus et publice injungatur omnibus et singulis quod observent mutuam caritatem et ad hoc agat quilibet quantum in eo sit. Item quod decreta et decretalia reponantur in libraria.

HUMBRESTON quod custos ex statuto deberet assumere aliquos indifferentes ad assidendum sibi et imponere finem illi discordiæ inter Wylý et Fynemer. Item quod Wantyng minus reverenter se habuit erga custodem, quum coram omnibus vocavit eum Robertum[1]. Item quod juxta formam statuti debemus habere yconomicos in maneriis qui ea possint visitare ad parcendum expensis."

It is remarkable that at least two of the Fellows here mentioned—Handele (Hadley) and Wantinge—occur also among the earliest Fellows of Queen's College, and Professor Rogers has suggested that Robert Eglesfield, the Founder of that College, may have purposely, if not benevolently, recruited his new society from the malcontents of Merton. It is not improbable that Hegtelbury, mentioned here, is the same as Hoghtelbury, one of the earliest Fellows of Queen's, and as Hettysbury, who occurs in the Merton Catalogue of Fellows.

[1] 'The Warden was Robert Treng. He died of the plague in 1350.'

APPENDIX D.

'NOTE OF THE COLLEGE PLATE' ON THE ACCESSION OF SAVILE TO THE WARDENSHIP IN 1586.

In manibus custodis, ut sequitur.

1 great salt double gilt wth a cover.

1 litle gilted salt wth a cover (exchanged by T. S.).

1 gilted salt wthout a cover, graven with portcullies & roses.

A basen and ewre parcell gilte lacking one of ye knopps and y^{e} plate in y^{e} topp.

vi. silver spones gilte, wth apostles at y^{e} ends, and dolphines in y^{e} holowness.

two gilt spones, y^{e} one wth a Lion at the ende, y^{e} other with a crowne and writhen steale (y^{e} spone wth y^{e} writhen steal exchaunged).

Two playne silver flagons.

A nutt wth a cover (exchanged).

Two silver tonnes (exch.).

Two silver gobletts parcell gilte, wthout covers.

Two gilt cupps wth covers (one of them exchanged).

One cupp with a cover parcell gilt (changed into a silver pott with a cover), (exchanged after by T. S.).

One flat playne gilt peece with a cover (exchanged).

One peece double gilt wth garland about y^{e} cover & foote (exchanged).

One standing bowle gilt wth a cover; in y^{e} foote this posye, 'Orate pro anima m^{ri} Thomæ Dutting et m^{ri} Jo. Wippilte' (Dollyng et Whippyll).

One bowle gilt wth a cover; in y^{e} foote, 'Domin' pauperem facit et ditat.'

One bowle gilt wth a cover, having a rose in the topp.

One bowle gilt w^th^ a cover, having a round topp (exchanged).

One bowle w^th^ a cover, pownced and double gilte, y^e^ cover having a writhen topp.

A dozen of silver spones w^th^ the Letters H. E. F. in the ends.

Fowre playne spones w^th^ knopps at thends (exchanged).

One flatt bowle w^th^ H. E. F. in y^e^ bottome (exchanged).

A silver peper boxe, not wayed because of soder in y^e^ bottome (exchanged).

Ad usum sociorum, in ærario, vel promptuario, ut sequitur.

One great salt double-gilt with a cover.

Two silver salts parcell gilte.

Fowre silver salts eight square.

Tenn bowles parcell gilt w^th^ one cover (three and a cover changed into six tuns by Mr. Savil, bursar, and two others changed into six tuns by Mr. Colmer).

Two new bowles parcell gilte (lost by Dunshire and answered to the College in monie).

A dozen of spones with knopps at the end six square.

A dozen of playne silver spones.

Ten silver spones w^th^ round knopps (one changed by Mr. Savile).

A dozen of other spones of divers sorts.

Half a dozen of silver spones playne.

A white playne standing french cup w^th^ Francis Wollie's name graven on it of his gift. 1598.

Ad usum ecclæsiæ, in ærario.

Two christening basens, parcell gilte.

One playne silver flagon.

One communion cup w^th^ a cover double gilte.

'A NOTE OF THE COLLEGE PLATE,' ON THE ACCESSION OF BRENT TO THE WARDENSHIP IN 1622.

In domo Custodis, ut sequitur.

One silver salt.
One silver beaker parcel gilt.
Two little tunnes parcel gilt.
One bread bowle plaine.
Nine spoones.
One great salt with a cover, double gilt.
Two salts parcel gilt.
Foure plaine white salts.
Ten great knobbed spoones.
Eyght smale knobbed spoones.
Ten bigger plaine spoones.
Eleven smaler playne spoons.
Three broad white bowles.
Nine great white tunnes.
Three little tuns parcel gilt.
One bowle given by Mr. Carew.
One bowle given by Mr. Newton.
One bowle given by Mr. Colepepper.
One bowle given by Mr. Eliot.
One bowle given by Mr. Pettie.
One bowle given by Mr. Betham.
One bowle given by Mr. Guy.
One bowle given by Mr. Harris.
One bowle given by Mr. Jacob.
One bowle given by Mr. Thornton.
One pot with eares given by Mr. Blunt.
One pot with eares given by Mr. Gibs.
One pot wth earrs given by Mr. Morgans.
One colledge pot given by Mr. Brankar.
One silver tankerd given by Mr. Den.
One bowle double-gilt wth a cover given by Mr. Drurie.
One bowle with a cover double gilt given by Mr. Parry.

One pot with earrs given by Mr. Hide.
One bowle double-gilt with a cover given by Peter Fretsvile.

Plate usually kept in the threasor House.

A basin & Ewer double-gilt.
A gilt bowle wth this posie—'Deus pauperem facit et ditat.'
A gilt bowle coronet.
A gilt bowle wth roses and perculesses.
A gilt bowle pounsed.
Two gilt bowles given by Mr. Trelawnies.
Two gilt saltes, one great, another little.
One gilt sack cup.
Six gilt Apostle spoones.
One gilt lion spoone.
Two tavern bowles parcel gilt.
One silver salt given by Mr. Essex.
Two silver flacons.
Two flat silver wine-bowles.
One tankard parcel gilt.
One gilt pot with a cover.

In y^{e} great chest in y^{e} threasor-house wthout a lock.

One faire basin & ewre double-gilt.
One white silver flacon for y^{e} communion.
One gilt bowle with a cover, for y^{e} communion.

APPENDIX E.

SUMMARY TABLE OF SUBMISSIONS, EXPULSIONS, AND APPOINTMENTS IN MERTON COLLEGE, UNDER THE PARLIAMENTARY VISITATION.

(Extracted from Professor Burrows' 'Visitors' Register,' pp. 520-526.)

Name.	College Rank.	Age and Date Matric.	Town or County.	Parentage.	Degree.	Observations.	Sub., Non., Exp.
Alport, Philip	College Servant	—	—	—	—	— —	—
Ambler, Bryan	Postmr. 1650	—	—	—	—	Removed as wrongly elected 1651	Non ? Sub.
Berkley, William	Fellow, 1625	17 : 1623	Bruton	Mil.	M.A. 1629	'Many years absent' 1648; knighted by Ch. II; Governor of Virginia 1660–1676; ob. 1677	Exp.
Blackman, John	Porter	—	—	—	—	— —	Sub.
Blanks, John	Postmr. in 1651	17 : 1648	—	Pleb.	—	Removed as wrongly elected 1651	Non ? Sub.
Bostock, Robert	Postmr. in 1649	17 : 1646	Haversham, Bucks	Cler.	B.A. 1660	Removed for non-submission, but allowed to re-enter	Non Exp. Sub.

Boxley, Austen	College Servant	—	—	—	—	—	Non ? Sub.
Brent, Basil	? Commoner	—	London	—		Fellow of All Souls 1648	Sub.
Brent, Nathaniel	Warden in 1621 and 1646	16 : 1590	Warwicksh.	Pleb.	D.C.L. 1623	Knighted by Ch. I 1629; Vicar-General and Judge of Prerogative Court; ejected by Ch. I 1645; restored 1646; PRESIDENT OF THE VISITORS 1647; ob. 1652	Sub.
Brent, Roger	Fellow, 1633	18 : 1628	Pillerton, Warwicksh.	Arm.	B.A. 1631 M.A. 1639	Expelled for bad conduct 1651; restored, 1660; expelled as incorrigible 1666	Sub. Exp.
Broad, Francis	Fellow, 1633	15 : 1627	Warwicksh.	Gen.	M.A. 1639	Proctor 1644	Non Exp.
Button, Ralph	Fellow, 1633	19 : 1631	Bishopston, Wilts.	Pleb.	M.A. 1640	Delegate of Visitors 1647; Public Orator, Canon of Ch. Ch. and Proctor 1648; ejected 1660; ob. 1680	Sub.
Cheynell, Francis	Fellow, 1629	16 : 1624	Oxford	Doct.	M.A. 1633 B.D. 1648 D.D. 1649	From Magdalen Hall; VISITOR 1647; Margaret Professor and President of St. John's 1648; ob. 1665	Sub.

Name.	College Rank.	Age and Date Matric.	Town or County.	Parentage.	Degree.	Observations.	Sub., Non., Exp.
Clarke, George	Fellow, 1633	? 20 : 1631	Bristol Diocese	? Pleb.	M.A. 1639	Ob. 1680	Sub.
Clarke, Samuel	—	15 : 1640	Brackley, Northants	Pleb.	M.A. 1648	— —	Sub.
Cooper, Benjamin	—	18 : 1641	Hallam, Notts.	Pleb.	B.A. 1647 M.A. 1648	Took M.A. degree in November 1648 (this can hardly be the same with Benjamin Cooper of Magdalen Hall and New Coll.)	Non ? Sub.
Copley, Edward	Fellow, 1635	? 18 : 1620	York Diocese	? Pleb.	M.A. 1640	Delegate of Visitors 1647; ob. 1649	Sub.
Corbett, Edward	Fellow, 1624	19 : 1621	Pontsbury, Salop	Pleb.	M.A. 1628 D.D. 1648	Proctor 1638; VISITOR 1647; Public Orator and Canon of Ch. Ch. 1648; ob. 1657	Sub.
Coxe, William	—	—	-	—	M.A. 1648	Afterwards Fellow of Brasenose College	Sub.
Cripps, Robert	Fellow, 1649	1645	—	Pleb.	B.A. 1648 M.A. 1652	Elected Proctor 1662, but did not serve	Sub.
Crofts,	? Postmr.	—	—	—	—	Expelled for conspiracy 1648	Exp.

Dickinson, Edmund	Fellow, 1648	16 : 1642	Appleton, Berks.	Cler.	M.A. 1649 M.D. 1656	Physician to Ch. II and Jas. II; ob. 1707	Sub.
Dunvile (? Dunwell), John	? Postmr.	? 16 : 1635	? Collingham, Yorksh.	? Pleb.	—	'Many years absent' 1648	Exp.
Fisher, Alexander	Fellow, 1619 Sub-warden, 1650	19 : 1615	Maidstone	Gen.	M.A. 1623	Ob. 1671	Sub.
French, John	Fellow, 1616	—	—	—	M.A. 1622 B.C.L. 1635	Registrar to the University 1629; expelled for various misdemeanours 1651; ob. 1651	Sub. Exp.
Grave, Bartholomew	—	—	—	—	M.A. 1648	Fellow of Wadham 1649	Sub.
Greaves, John	Fellow, 1624	15 : 1617	Hants.	Cler.	M.A. 1628	The eminent scholar and Orientalist; Savilian Professor of Astronomy 1643; ob. 1652	Exp.
Harvey, William	Warden, 1645	14 : 1592	Folkestone, Kent.	Gen.	M.D. 1642	Of Cambridge and Padua; Physician to Ch. I; resigned Wardenship 1646; ob. 1657	—
Harwood,	Postmr. in 1648	—	—	—	—	— —	Exp.

Name.	College Rank.	Age and Date Matric.	Town or County.	Parentage.	Degree.	Observations.	Sub., Non., Exp.
Clarke, George	Fellow, 1633	? 20 : 1631	Bristol Diocese	? Pleb.	M.A. 1639	Ob. 1680	Sub.
Clarke, Samuel	—	15 : 1640	Brackley, Northants	Pleb.	M.A. 1648	— —	Sub.
Cooper, Benjamin	—	18 : 1641	Hallam, Notts.	Pleb.	B.A. 1647 M.A. 1648	Took M.A. degree in November 1648 (this can hardly be the same with Benjamin Cooper of Magdalen Hall and New Coll.)	Non ? Sub.
Copley, Edward	Fellow, 1635	? 18 : 1620	York Diocese	? Pleb.	M.A. 1640	Delegate of Visitors 1647; ob. 1649	Sub.
Corbett, Edward	Fellow, 1624	19 : 1621	Pontsbury, Salop	Pleb.	M.A. 1628 D.D. 1648	Proctor 1638; VISITOR 1647; Public Orator and Canon of Ch. Ch. 1648; ob. 1657	Sub.
Coxe, William	—	—	-	—	M.A. 1648	Afterwards Fellow of Brasenose College	Sub.
Cripps, Robert	Fellow, 1649	1645	—	Pleb.	B.A. 1648 M.A. 1652	Elected Proctor 1662, but did not serve	Sub.
Crofts,	? Postmr.	—	—	—	—	Expelled for conspiracy 1648	Exp.

Dickinson, Edmund	Fellow, 1648	16 : 1642	Appleton, Berks.	Cler.	M.A. 1649 M.D. 1656	Physician to Ch. II and Jas. II; ob. 1707	Sub.
Dunvile (? Dunwell), John	? Postmr.	? 16 : 1635	? Collingham, Yorksh.	? Pleb.	—	'Many years absent' 1648	Exp.
Fisher, Alexander	Fellow, 1619 Sub-warden, 1650	19 : 1615	Maidstone	Gen.	M.A. 1623	Ob. 1671	Sub.
French, John	Fellow, 1616	--	—	—	M.A. 1622 B.C.L. 1635	Registrar to the University 1629; expelled for various misdemeanours 1651; ob. 1651	Sub. Exp.
Grave, Bartholomew	—	—	—	—	M.A. 1648	Fellow of Wadham 1649	Sub.
Greaves, John	Fellow, 1624	15 : 1617	Hants.	Cler.	M.A. 1628	The eminent scholar and Orientalist; Savilian Professor of Astronomy 1643; ob. 1652	Exp.
Harvey, William	Warden, 1645	14 : 1592	Folkestone, Kent.	Gen.	M.D. 1642	Of Cambridge and Padua; Physician to Ch. I; resigned Wardenship 1646; ob. 1657	—
Harwood,	Postmr. in 1648	—	—	—	—	— —	Exp.

Name.	College Rank.	Age and Date Matric.	Town or County.	Parentage.	Degree.	Observations.	Sub., Non., Exp.
Clarke, George	Fellow, 1633	? 20 : 1631	Bristol Diocese	? Pleb.	M.A. 1639	Ob. 1680	Sub.
Clarke, Samuel	—	15 : 1640	Brackley, Northants	Pleb.	M.A. 1648	— —	Sub.
Cooper, Benjamin	—	18 : 1641	Hallam, Notts.	Pleb.	B.A. 1647 M.A. 1648	Took M.A. degree in November 1648 (this can hardly be the same with Benjamin Cooper of Magdalen Hall and New Coll.)	Non ? Sub.
Copley, Edward	Fellow, 1635	? 18 : 1620	York Diocese	? Pleb.	M.A. 1640	Delegate of Visitors 1647; ob. 1649	Sub.
Corbett, Edward	Fellow, 1624	19 : 1621	Pontsbury, Salop	Pleb.	M.A. 1628 D.D. 1648	Proctor 1638; VISITOR 1647; Public Orator and Canon of Ch. Ch. 1648; ob. 1657	Sub.
Coxe, William	—	—	-	—	M.A. 1648	Afterwards Fellow of Brasenose College	Sub.
Cripps, Robert	Fellow, 1649	1645	—	Pleb.	B.A. 1648 M.A. 1652	Elected Proctor 1662, but did not serve	Sub.
Crofts,	? Postmr.	—	—	—	—	Expelled for conspiracy 1648	Exp.

Dickinson, Edmund	Fellow, 1648	16 : 1642	Appleton, Berks.	Cler.	M.A. 1649 M.D. 1656	Physician to Ch. II and Jas. II; ob. 1707	Sub.
Dunvile (? Dunwell), John	? Postmr.	? 16 : 1635	? Collingham, Yorksh.	? Pleb.	—	'Many years absent' 1648	Exp.
Fisher, Alexander	Fellow, 1619 Sub-warden, 1650	19 : 1615	Maidstone	Gen.	M.A. 1623	Ob. 1671	Sub.
French, John	Fellow, 1616	—	—	—	M.A. 1622 B.C.L. 1635	Registrar to the University 1629; expelled for various misdemeanours 1651; ob. 1651	Sub. Exp.
Grave, Bartholomew	—	—	—	—	M.A. 1648	Fellow of Wadham 1649	Sub.
Greaves, John	Fellow, 1624	15 : 1617	Hants.	Cler.	M.A. 1628	The eminent scholar and Orientalist; Savilian Professor of Astronomy 1643; ob. 1652	Exp.
Harvey, William	Warden, 1645	14 : 1592	Folkestone, Kent.	Gen.	M.D. 1642	Of Cambridge and Padua; Physician to Ch. I; resigned Wardenship 1646; ob. 1657	—
Harwood,	Postmr. in 1648	—	—	—	—	— —	Exp.

Name.	College Rank.	Age and Date Matric.	Town or County.	Parentage.	Degree.	Observations.	Sub., Non., Exp.
Owen, William	Fellow, 1633	? 18 : 1631	St. David's Diocese	? Cler.	M.A. 1639 D.D. 1660	Archdeacon of Cardigan 1668; ob. 1680	Non Exp.
Phillips, Richard	Postmr. in 1650	—	—	—	B.A. 1651	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected	Non Sub.
Prickett, Josiah	? Commoner, 1648	17 : 1646	Allathorp, Yorkshire	Pleb.	—	— —	Sub.
Reynolds, Edward	Fellow, 1620 Warden, 1661	17 : 1615	Southampton	Gen.	M.A. 1624 D.D. 1648	VISITOR 1647-50; Dean of Ch. Ch. 1648-51, and 1659; Bishop of Norwich 1661; ob. 1676	—
Rider, William	—	16 : 1641	Spoonley, Salop	Pleb.	M.A. 1648	Fellow of Magdalen 1648	Sub.
Sayre, Robert	Fellow, 1635	—	Sarum Diocese	—	M.A. 1640	Expelled for various misdemeanours 1649; ob. 1662	Sub. Exp.
Smart, John	—	—	—	—	—	— —	Sub.
Smith, Avis	College Servant	—	—	—	—	— —	Exp.
Switsir, Silvester	Postmr.	—	—	—	—	Not expelled till 1649	Non Exp.

Jones, Thomas	Fellow, 1638	—	Cardigan	—	M.A. 1644 D.C.L. 1659	Ob. 1665	Sub.
Kemble, William	? Commoner, 1648	18 : 1646	Stratton, Wilts	Gen.	B.A. 1651	— —	Non Sub.
Lee, John	Fellow, 1638	14 : 1634	Sarum Diocese	Cler.	M.A. 1644	Ob. 1660	Non Exp.
Lort, George	Chaplain in 1648	17 : 1641	Bristol Diocese	Gen.	B.A. and M.A. 1648	— —	Sub.
Lydall, Richard	Fellow, 1642 Warden, 1693	17 : 1638	Uxmore, Oxon	Gen.	M.A. 1647 M.D. 1656	Discommoned and admonished 1649; ob. 1703	Sub.
Martin, John	? Commoner, 1648	1649	—	Pleb.	—	— —	Sub.
Martin, William	Fellow, 1642	15 : 1635	Witney	Pleb.	M.A. 1648	Delegate of Visitors 1647	Sub.
Newall,	Fellow	—	—	—	—	Superseded Button during the Civil War as Dean	—
Noble, William	Cook	—	—	—	—	— —	Sub.

Name.	College Rank.	Age and Date Matric.	Town or County.	Parentage.	Degree.	Observations.	Sub., Non., Exp.
Owen, William	Fellow, 1633	? 18 : 1631	St. David's Diocese	? Cler.	M.A. 1639 D.D. 1660	Archdeacon of Cardigan 1668; ob. 1680	Non Exp.
Phillips, Richard	Postmr. in 1650	—	—	—	B.A. 1651	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected	Non Sub.
Prickett, Josiah	? Commoner, 1648	17 : 1646	Allathorp, Yorkshire	Pleb.	—	— —	Sub.
Reynolds, Edward	Fellow, 1620 Warden, 1661	17 : 1615	Southampton	Gen.	M.A. 1624 D.D. 1648	VISITOR 1647–50; Dean of Ch. Ch. 1648–51, and 1659; Bishop of Norwich 1661; ob. 1676	—
Rider, William	—	16 : 1641	Spoonley, Salop	Pleb.	M.A. 1648	Fellow of Magdalen 1648	Sub.
Sayre, Robert	Fellow, 1635	—	Sarum Diocese	—	M.A. 1640	Expelled for various misdemeanours 1649; ob. 1662	Sub. Exp.
Smart, John	—	—	—	—	—	— —	Sub.
Smith, Avis	College Servant	—	—	—	—	— —	Exp.
Switsir, Silvester	Postmr. in 1648	—	—	—	—	Not expelled till 1649	Non Exp.

Thomas, William	? Commoner, 1648	—	—	—	—	Appointed to Jesus 1648	Sub.
Tonge, ? Teonge, Henry	Chaplain	—	—	—	—	? Author of 'Diary of Henry Teonge, 1675–1679' (London, 1825)	Sub.
Turner, Peter	Fellow, 1607	13 : 1600	Middlesex	Gen.	M.D 1636	Savilian Professor of Geometry 1630–49	Exp.
Whistler, Daniel	Fellow, 1638	16 : 1635	Essex	Gen.	M.A. 1644 M.D. 1647	Delegate of Visitors 1647; President of College of Physicians 1683; F.R.S.; ob. 1684	Sub.
Wood, Edward	Fellow, 1648	15 : 1642	Oxford	Gen.	M.A. 1649	Appointed Fellow by Visitors; Proctor 1655; (brother of Anthony Wood) ob. 1655	Sub.
Woodley, Andrew	—	—	—	—	—	— —	Non ? Sub.
Wright, John	Postmr. 1651	—	—	—	—	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected	Non Sub.

PERSONS APPOINTED BY VISITORS OR ELECTED UNDER THEIR SANCTION.

Abbotts, ? Richard	? Fellow	? 15 : 1634	? Guildford	? Pleb.	? M.A.	— —	—
Arnold, John	Fellow, 1648	—	—	—	M.D. 1654	Ph. B. of Leyden	—

Name.	College Rank.	Age and Date Matric.	Town or County.	Parentage.	Degree.	Observations.	Sub., Non., Exp.
Bricknell, James	Postmr. 1649	1650	.	--	B.A. 1652 M.A. 1655	-- --	..
Childe, George	Postmr. 1649	1649	—	—	M.A. 1655	From New Inn Hall	—
Coles, William	Postmr. 1650	1649		—	B.A. 1650	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected	..
Davis,	Postmr. 1651	—	—	—	..	— —	—
Franke, Thomas	Fellow in 1650	—	-	—	B.A. 1648 M.A. 1650	From New Inn Hall	—
Franklyn, Richard	Fellow, 1648	—	.	—	B.A. 1649 M.A. 1651	Proctor 1655 in place of Wood deceased; ob. 1674	--
Goddard, Jonathan	Warden, 1651	?15 : 1632	? Deptford	? Arm.	M.D. 1651	From Cambridge (previously of Magdalen Hall); Physician to Oliver Cromwell; VISITOR 1652; Burgess for the University 1653; member of 'Council of State;' F.R.S.; ejected 1660; ob. 1674	..

Hervey, Joseph	Fellow, 1648	1649	—	Gen.	B.A. 1648 M.A. 1651	—	—	—
Hieron, Samuel	Postmr. 1651	—	—	—	M.A. 1655	—	—	—
Howell,	—	—	—	—	? M.A.	—	—	—
Hully, Robert	Fellow, 1649	1649	—	Pleb.	B.A. 1649 M.A. 1652	From University College; elected 1649; ob. 1657		—
Hurst, Henry	Fellow, 1649	1649	Glouc.	Cler.	B.A. 1649 M.A. 1652	From Magdalen Hall; elected 1649; ejected 1660; ob. 1690		—
Izard, William	Servitor, 1650 Postmr. 1651	1650	—	—	—	—	—	—
Johnson, William	Postmr. 1651	1650	—	Pleb.	—	From Magdalen Hall		—
Jones, Thomas	—	—	—	—	M.A. in 1649	Appointed to Jesus 1648		—
Lester, Robert	Postmr. 1651	1651	—	Pleb.	B.A. 1654	—	—	—

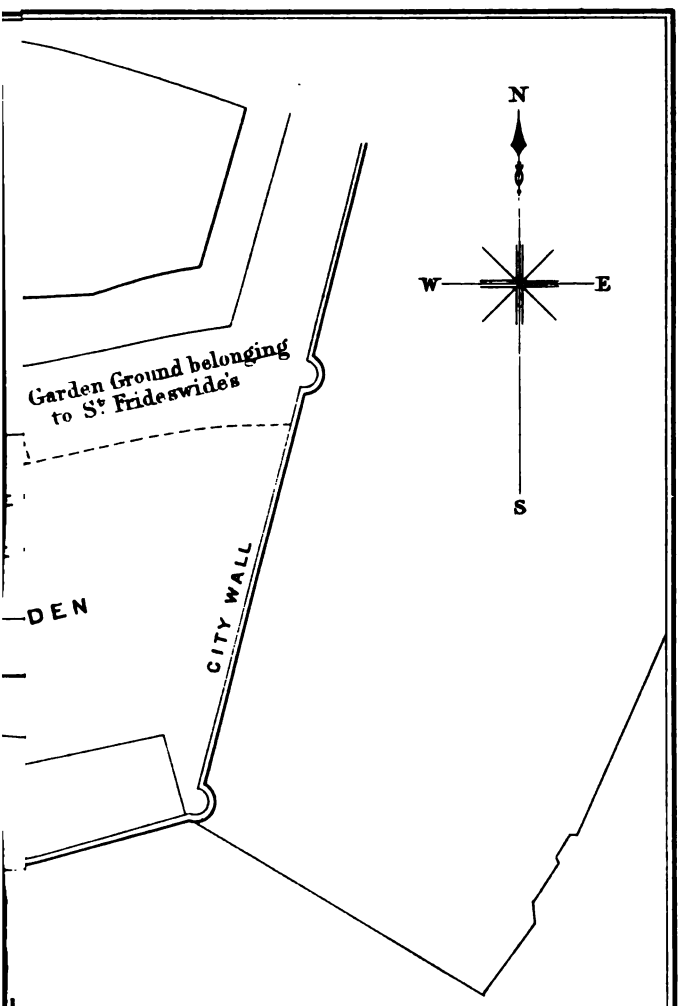
Name.	College Rank.	Age and Date Matric.	Town or County.	Parentage.	Degree.	Observations.	Sub., Non., Exp.
Maund, Clinton	Fellow, 1649	17 : 1647	Fermanagh	Pleb.	B.A. 1649 M.A. 1652	From Pembroke (previously from Dublin University); ob. 1660	—
Monday, Henry	Postmr.	? 15 : 1642	? Henley	? Pleb.	—	— —	—
Moore, Francis	Postmr. 1651	1650	—	Pleb.	B.A. 1654	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected	—
Moseley,	Fellow, 1651	—	—	—	—	Superseded Roger Brent	—
Myers,	Postmr. in 1651	1650		Gen.	—	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected	—
Nichols,	? Postmr.	—	—	—	? M.A.	— —	—
Owen, George	Postmr.	1651	—	Doct.	B.A. 1651	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected	—
Pavier, Richard	Fellow, 1649	1649	-	Gen.	B.A. 1649	From New Inn Hall	—
Powell, John	Fellow, 1649	—	-	—	M.A. 1649	A Cambridge M.A.	—
Prichard, John	? Commoner	—	—	—	—	Appointed to Jesus 1648	—

Prickett, George	Postmr. 1651	1650	—	Gen.	B.A. 1653	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected; Serjeant-at-law 1692	—
Richman, Stephen	Postmr. in 1651	1649	—	Pleb.	B.A. 1652	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected	
Roode, Edward	Postmr. 1649	1650	—	Cler.	B.A. 1652 M.A. 1655	— —	—
Soley, Thomas	Servitor, 1650 Postmr. 1651	1650	—	—	—	— —	—
Spencer,	Postmr. 1651	—	—	—	—	— —	—
Stanes, William	Postmr. in 1651	1649	—	Pleb.	B.A. 1652 M.A. 1655	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected	—
Sterry, Nathaniel	Fellow, 1649	—	—	—	M.A. 1651	From Cambridge; elected in 1649; Dean of Bocking 1674	—
Thornton, Abraham	Postmr. in 1651	—	—	—	B.A. 1651	Removed in 1651 as wrongly elected; took Degree from Alban Hall	—
Trevor (or Travers), Richard	—	? 1649	—	? Baro. Scaccarii	B.A. 1648 M.D. 1661	Ph. D. of Padua 1658	

Name.	College Rank.	Age and Date Matric.	Town or County.	Parentage.	Degree.	Observations.	Sub., Non., Exp.
Willoughby, Charles	Fellow, 1649	—	—	—	M.A. 1652 M.D. 1664	Ph. D. of Padua; ob. 1695	—
Wright, ? Richard	"Fellow" in 1650	? 1651	—	? Pleb.	? B.A. 1654 ? M.A. 1657	No Fellow of this name appears on the College books of this date	—
Persons named by Visitors as Candidates or recommended for Merton Fellowships in 1649.							
Basnett, Samuel	—	—	—	—	M.A. 1649	Fellow of All Souls 1649	—
Bradie (or Brodie), ? Henry	? Servitor	? 1650	—	—	? B.A. 1651	? Of Lincoln	—
Butler,	—	—	—	—	B.A. in 1649	Of Cambridge	—
De la Place,	—	—	—	—	—	? Of University College	—
Edes,	—	—	—	—	B.A. in 1649	? Of Lincoln College	—
Ford,	—	—	—	—	B.A. in 1649	— —	—

Hitchcock, George	—	—	—	—	B.A. 1649	Of New College	—
King,	—	—	—	—	B.A. in 1649	— —	—
Larkham, George	Servitor	17 : 1647	Greenwich	Pleb.	B.A. 1650	Of Exeter College in 1650	—
Lee,	—	—	—	—	—	Of Magdalen Hall	—
Long,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Petty,	—	—	—	—	B.A. in 1649	— —	—
Sedgwick,	—	—	—	—	B.A. in 1649	— —	—

NOTE.—The names of the Candidates who were successful will be found in the List of Appointments, *ante*.



PLAN OF

TON COLLEGE

nvirons at the end of the Fifteenth
based upon the maps of Agas and Ful-
. the topographical account of Peshall.

BUILDINGS . . . . THUS ▭

DUBTFUL BOUNDARIES - - - -

University Press Oxford.

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